THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS

by

TAI AKAGI

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WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

We hereby approve the thesis of

TAI AKAGI

candidate for the DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY **degree.**

Signed:

Rolland E. Wolfe
Chairman

E. Bambury

H. A. Rigg. Jr

Francis R. Bliss

Lester G Crocker

Date May 13, 1965

PREFACE

The discovery in 1945 of a large quantity of Coptic papyrus manuscripts near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt aroused something of a sensation among scholars of New Testament studies and early Christian history. The significance of this event is comparable to the discovery, in 1947 and following years, of the series of Jewish documents known as the "Dead Sea Scrolls," which were found in the caves near Khirbet Qumran on the northwestern bank of the Dead Sea. These have proved to be the two most significant archaeological developments since the end of World War II. Together they have made a major contribution toward the advancement and enrichment of Judaeo-Christian history. They have given to the scholarly world materials which have proved indispensable to a deeper understanding of Biblical studies, Christian origins, and Jewish sectarian life at the time the Christian religion was being born.

Of particular importance for those who are engaged in researches into the history and literature of early Christianity has been the discovery, among the Coptic manuscripts from Nag Hammadi, of a relatively small document entitled: "The Gospel according to Thomas."

Finding a new Gospel always has caused great interest. Such was the situation in the winter of 1886-1887, when a Greek fragment of the Gospel of Peter was found among the thirty-three parchment leaves unearthed from Christian graves at Achmim in Upper Egypt. Even greater excitement surrounded another major archaeological achievement when in 1897 two British scholars, Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, published a series of "Logia Iesou" (Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment No. 1), which they had discovered at the site of ancient Oxyrhynchus. Equal excitement occurred in 1904 when the same scholars published a Greek "Fragment of a Lost Gospel" (Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment No. 655), along with some "New Sayings of Jesus" (Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment No. 654), both from the same excavation site of Oxyrhynchus. More recently, Biblical scholars' unusual interest was stirred up in 1935 when another pair of British learned men, H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat, published some "Fragments of an Unknown Gospel" (Papyrus Egerton No. 2) from a second-century papyrus in the British Museum. Bibliographical references to these "finds" will be made from time to time.

The recently discovered Coptic _Gospel according to Thomas_ (or, _of Thomas_), surpasses all those previous "Gospel findings" on two counts. First, the new Coptic Gospel is more voluminous than any of these other Gospels or Gospel materials that have been unearthed during the past hundred years. This new Coptic Gospel is not just a few small fragments but a whole book, complete with an "Introduction" (or, "Prologue") and at the end a "colophon" that provides the exact title of the document which precedes it. Secondly, the Coptic _Thomas_ has a unique literary character in that it consists almost entirely of Jesus' "sayings" (or, "logia"), totaling 114 in number.

Admittedly, a document of this type, i.e. a sayings-collection, was included among the famous Oxyrhynchus papyrus manuscripts that were brought to light more than sixty years ago. However, that find consisted only of fragments, a series of no more than eighteen sayings ascribed to Jesus. Incidentally, those fragments from Oxyrhynchus have now been identified as portions of the Gospel of Thomas, which has now become accessible in Coptic. In short, the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas is unparalleled both in size and literary style.

Given a document such as this, one's reactions are many and varied, depending on where the researcher's main interest lies. One naturally would expect some genuine words of Jesus, hitherto known or unknown, to turn up in such a collection of logia. The question of the "authenticity" of Jesus' logia assembled in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas thus becomes a matter of prime concern. The existence of an "independent tradition," presumably parallel to those contained in the canonical Gospels, becomes now all the more intriguing possibility.

Almost half the logia in Thomas have more or less close parallels in the canonical Gospels. Yet, also conspicuous in this new Gospel are the many significant differences and variants between its logia and the corresponding canonical sayings. Therefore, the question of an "independent" or "parallel" tradition becomes an urgent issue.

At the same time, one's attention needs to be directed also to the problem of "textual recensions" of the canonical materials. This matter seems quite appropriate since the Gospel of Thomas appears to show considerable closeness to the so-called

"Western" texts.

This recognition of differences and variants may also lead to the question regarding Thomas' "tendentious" adaptation or alteration of Jesus' sayings that are contained in the Church's Gospels. The "editor" or "redactor" of this new Coptic document may well have recast whatever material he had in his hands to suit his particular set of theologoumena. Accordingly, for those whose interest lies primarily in studying "Gnosticism," this new Gospel offers hope of serving as one of the most valuable treasuries of first-hand materials. This line of approach to the Coptic Thomas seems legitimate since the document apparently displays many points of contact with various writings that are recognizably "Gnostic." Also, it shows affinities to those documents that belong to "Manichaean" circles.

Furthermore, it is noted that there are in the new Coptic Gospel of Thomas a number of new logia, hitherto completely unknown. In addition, it also contains some logia that are not found in the canonical Gospels but occur in other writings--apocryphal, patristic, Gnostic, or Manichaean. The question of a "common" tradition or "sources," that possibly lay behind these various writings and Thomas, might well become a main subject of research. The matter regarding the "sources" of Thomas receives further stimulus from the fact that there are in this new Gospel some doublets that display significant variations.

The following problems therefore confront the person who embarks upon a serious study of this Gospel. To what extent are the logia ascribed to Jesus in Thomas authentic? Does this Gospel follow an "independent" or "common" tradition? What textual recensions lie behind it? To what extent has it been modified in the direction of Gnostic or Manichaean interests? What "sources" underlie the Gospel? All these questions call for serious discussion. None of these issues are so trivial that they dare be purposely ignored or carelessly overlooked.

However, whatever one's ultimate goal of research may be in dealing with this new Coptic Gospel of Thomas, one basic problem needs to be brought into consideration. It is the question of the new Gospel's historical development as a literary work. This question cannot be evaded unless it is thoughtlessly assumed that the present Coptic Thomas is in itself an original book, written in that language from the beginning. Obviously, such a view cannot be justified for the simple reason that the new Gospel has its presumed earlier counterpart in Greek, i.e. the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments.

The existence of the Gospel of Thomas in two languages appears to suggest that the "literary" history of this new Gospel is more complicated than one might wish. For instance, an investigation of the strange name, "Didymos Judas Thomas," assigned to the alleged author of this document, reveals that the new Gospel probably did not even originate in Egypt, the land of its discovery, but in some other locality of the early Christian world.

It has been agreed among scholars that the original composition of the newly discovered Gospel of Thomas may well go back to the middle, or even the first half, of the second century. By contrast, the date of writing the present Coptic manuscript of this document is palaeographically considered to be approximately A.D. 400. The question, therefore, is: What course of development did this document experience during those two and a half centuries? This is a fundamental question which needs to be answered. So far as the present writer can determine, as yet no one has arrived at any satisfactory answer to this question. This is the reason why the present writer has decided to address himself to this particular problem.

The purpose of this dissertation, then, is to trace the probable course of the literary development of the Gospel of Thomas now available in Coptic. In the process, it will be shown that the new Gospel appears to contain some good, old Christian traditions. It will also be demonstrated that such traditions are probably the ones that are best described as "Jewish-Christian" in character.

Admittedly, what the term "Jewish-Christian" means is a moot question. Even today, despite all the intensive and extensive works done by numerous scholars, this subject still remains one area of study where a number of important problems have not yet become completely settled. In this dissertation, the term "Jewish-Christian" is used in its broad sense, referring to that segment of early Christianity in which the constituent members were predominantly Jews by birth. Consequently, the term is not intended here to serve as the decisive norm or criterion by which to judge the character of *Thomas* or of any given logia in it. Rather, it is hoped that research on *Thomas*, such as now is being undertaken in this study, will supply a wider basis on which a more adequate definition may in the future be given to the term "Jewish-Christian."

A word may be said at this point about "Gnosticism." As has sometimes been the case, this term often is defined so loosely as to allow "almost anything" to be included as "Gnostic." To avoid such confusion, the term is used in this dissertation in the narrower sense as referring to those well-defined sects and systems of teachings in the second and third centuries that were condemned in the anti-heretical writings of the Church Fathers, notably by Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Epiphanius.

A highly complex religious phenomenon, Gnosticism expressed itself in many different forms. As early as about A.D. 180, Irenaeus spoke of the confusing situation of various Gnostic sects as follows: "Every day every one of them invents something new according to his ability" (Adversus Haereses i. 18. 1). Presumably this was due to the principle of nonconformism in the Gnostic mind. The dazzling varieties of teachings and sects among the Gnostics may readily be seen in the catalogues of their names and designations assembled by the leading anti-heretical Church Fathers. Included among them, to mention only a few, are such well-known sects, named after their founders, as Basilidians, Valentinians and Marcionites. There were also others known for the objects of their religious devotion, such as Cainites, Ophites and Naassenes. Still others bore designations expressive of their doctrines or religious practices, such as Docetists, Encratites and Entychites.

While defining Gnosticism is an extremely difficult task, it is not impossible to point out certain features--theological, cosmological, eschatological, anthropological, or ethical--that are common to the movement as a whole. The item of prime importance, as the term "Gnosticism" (derived from the Greek word γνῶσις, "knowledge") shows, is gnosis. This is the supposedly revealed knowledge of God and of the origin and destiny of man. The source of this special knowledge was believed to be either the Apostles themselves or a direct revelation given to the founder of the sect.

Gnosticism embodied an impressive array of teachings ranging from purely philosophical speculation to crude mixture of mythology and magical rites derived from various sources. Certain books of both the Old and New Testaments were great favorites and were interpreted elaborately by certain of these major sects. Frequently a central position was given to Jesus. However, the interpretation of these Christian features, on many points, differed considerably from that of mainline Christianity.

One of the remarkable doctrines characteristic of Gnosticism was the distinction between the "Demiurge" (δημιουργός, "craftsman") or "creator god" and the remote supreme Divine Being, the "Unknown Father." The former, an inferior deity, was derived from the latter by a series of emanations or "aeons." To that lower deity, Demiurge, was assigned the creation of the "material" world, which accordingly was considered as imperfect and antagonistic to what was truly "spiritual." However, a spark of Divine spiritual substance, like a seed, had been sown into some men. The Divine element, then, could be saved from its corrupt material environment through the true gnosis, so that it might return to its original home in the Divine Being. Such men were designated as the "spiritual" (πνευματικοί), while others were merely "fleshly" or "material" (σαρκικοί or ὑλικοί). A third intermediate class, the "psychic" (ψυχικοί), was also added by some Gnostics.

Christ, according to some Gnostics, came to function as the messenger of the supreme God in order to bring the true gnosis. A Divine Being himself, Christ neither assumed an ordinary human body nor actually died. Rather, it was held, he either temporarily dwelt in a human being as Jesus, or merely assumed a phantasmal human appearance.

Sharply opposed to these teachings, the Church's principal anti-Gnostic Fathers insisted on the exposition of the Scriptures in accordance with the tradition of the Church derived from the Apostles, on the identity of the Creator and the supreme God, and on the reality of the earthly life of Jesus, especially of the actual crucifixion and the physical resurrection.

The sect of the "Manichaeans" (or "Manichees"), founded by Manes (or Mani; Manichaeus) the Persian (215?-275), closely resembled the earlier Gnostic sects. Since this new group did not begin to flourish until after the middle of the third century, they self-evidently were not mentioned by the earlier anti-Gnostic writers. The later Church Fathers, however, concerned themselves much with refuting Manichaeism, as was the case with Ephrem Syrus, Titus of Bostra, Serapion of Thmuis, and especially Augustine. By the broader criteria of the history of religion, the Manichaean sect belongs to the same circle of ideas as the Gnostics. For this reason, it is sometimes difficult to draw a line of distinction between Manichaeism and Gnosticism. Yet, on the other hand, a separate treatment of one from the other does not seem absolutely wrong, depending on the nature of the discussion to be pursued.

There are in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas certain words and expressions that can be regarded as characteristic of Gnostic teachings, such as, e.g.: "the all" (ⲡⲧⲏⲣϥ; Log. 2, 67, 77), "drunk" (ϯϩⲉ; Log. 13, 28), "Father" (ⲉⲓⲱⲧ; Log. 15, 27, 44, 76, 99, etc.), "flesh" (ⲥⲁⲣⲝ<σάρξ ; Log. 28, 29, 112), "hidden (secret)" (ϩⲱⲡ, ϩⲏⲡ ; Prol., Log. 5, 6, 32, 33, 39, 83, 96, 108, 109), "light" (ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲛ; Log. 11, 24, 33, 61, 65, 83), "life" (ⲱⲛϩ; Log. 4, 58, 101, 114), "the living" (ⲉⲧⲟⲛϩ; Prol., Log. 3, 11, 37, 50, 52, 59, 111), "power (strength)" (ⲇⲩⲛⲁⲙⲓⲥ< δύναμις ; Log. 21, 81, 85), and "rest (repose)" (ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ<ἀνάπαυσις ; Log. 50, 51, 60, 90). It cannot be denied that these and other terminologies found in this new Gospel later came to carry with them distinctly Gnostic connotations. Extensive studies in this field have been made, the findings of which need not be presented here.

However, the present writer, primarily concerned with investigating the "literary" development of the Gospel of Thomas and its Jewish-Christian background, focuses his attention on the earlier non-Gnostic or pre-Gnostic usage, as it might better be called, of those terms as they are encountered in the course of the present study. This is of course not to ignore their later use by the Gnostics, which can readily be detected in a number of Gnostic or Manichaean writings of later times. Rather, the present study is concerned with demonstrating that those terms, as well as those logia in Thomas in which they occur, may very well be interpreted first and foremost within the non-Gnostic or pre-Gnostic contexts. It is further intended to provide some evidence that the Gospel of Thomas as a whole cannot and need not be regarded as "Gnostic" in origin or in character quite so assuredly as some scholars have claimed it to be.

Of necessity the scope of this dissertation is so limited as to exclude the following matters: the question as to the authenticity of Jesus' logia in Thomas, the textual problems relating to Gospel traditions in the early Church, and Thomas' dependence on the canonical Gospels or independence of them. Rather, the present study is intended to give proper consideration to only one basic issue: the "literary" development of the Gospel of Thomas. Other matters, important though they no doubt are, may be discussed more fruitfully on the basis of the conclusions arrived at in the present study.

In Part I attention will be given to subjects of more or less general nature. These include a brief survey of the Nag Hammadi collection as a whole (Chapter I), an exploration into the literary characteristics of the Coptic Thomas as a collection of Jesus' logia (Chapter II), a review of the early Christian traditions about the apostle Thomas (Chapter III), and surveying the references to a "Gospel of Thomas" in the early Church (Chapter IV).

Part II constitutes the main body of this dissertation. Here, after a brief survey of the problems posed by the newly discovered Gospel of Thomas (Chapter V), the course of the literary development, as the present writer sees it, will be traced in terms of three major stages: the "Ur-Thomas" (Chapter VI), the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" (Chapter VII), and the "Coptic Thomas"

(Chapter VIII). In each of these three chapters, a certain number of selected logia will be examined as closely as possible with special reference to their bearings upon the particular subject of this dissertation.

It is hoped, in so doing, that the results of such investigations of individual logia in these chapters will provide sufficient grounds for a subsidiary thesis of the present study. This is the assumption that the Gospel of Thomas contains a considerable amount of primitive Christian traditions, and that the Gospel should be regarded as a Christian apocryphon, which deserves proper attention from the world's Biblical scholarship as well as being worthy of a proper position in the history of early Christian literature.

It is the belief of the present writer that this type of study is a necessary prelude step that must precede any further advancement in research on this significant document that now presents itself in the Coptic language to the student of early Christian history and literature.

With regard to the matter of writing Coptic in the present study the transcribing of Coptic characters follows the system used by J. Martin Plumley in his An Introductory Coptic Grammar: Sahidic Dialect (1948).

There are many scholars, both in this country and abroad, whom the present writer did not have the privilege of knowing in person, and yet to whom he owes a debt of gratitude for their stimulus, through their books and articles, in the initiation of this study of the Gospel of Thomas. The writer has sought, though in-adequately, to acknowledge in the footnotes what he owes to the works of these and other scholars. In particular, the writer wishes to make special mention, among others, of the following names: Robert M. Grant of Chicago, Gilles Quispel and Wilhelm Cornelis van Unnik, both of Utrecht, Henri-Charles Puech and Jean Doresse, both of Paris, R. McLachlan Wilson of St. Andrews, and Bertil Gärtner of Uppsala. In the related field of research concerning the Oxyrhynchus fragments, the writer has profited by the works of Joachim Jeremias of Göttingen, and of Joseph A. Fitzmyer of Woodstock, Maryland.

More directly, the present writer is deeply grateful to the members of the faculty of the Department of Religion, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio: Dr. Horace Abram Rigg, Jr., Severance Professor of the History of Religion, and Mr. Ewart Bambury, Assistant Professor of Religion. Especially to the Chairman of the Department, Dr. Rolland E. Wolfe, Harkness Professor of Biblical Literature, the writer desires to express his sincere appreciation for his encouragement and advice that were so instrumental in the completion of this dissertation. Thanks are due also to Dr. Kendrick Grobel, of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee, who so graciously made available source materials that were indispensable for this study.

Tai Akagi

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page
PREFACE ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS xv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xvi

PART I. THE DISCOVERY OF THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS

Chapter
I. INTRODUCTION: THE DISCOVERY OF THE NAG HAMMADI COLLECTION 2
II. THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS: A COLLECTION OF LOGIA 25
III. THOMAS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS 43
IV. A "GOSPEL OF THOMAS" IN THE EARLY CHURCH 78

PART II. THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS

V. THE PROBLEM OF THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS 105
VI. THE "UR-THOMAS" 121
VII. THE "OXYRHYNCHUS THOMAS" 205
VIII. THE "COPTIC THOMAS" 324
IX. CONCLUSION 384
BIBLIOGRAPHY 393

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(The following abbreviations are used in the footnotes. For further bibliographical references, see "Bibliography.")

Bauer:	J. B. Bauer, "Echte Jesusworte?" in W. C. van Unnik, *Evangelien aus dem Nilsand* (1960).
Doresse:	J. Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics* (1960).
Fitzmyer:	J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus *Logoi* of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas," *Theological Studies*, XX (1959).
Gärtner:	B. Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas* (1961).
GCS:	*Die griechisch-christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig; Berlin).
Grant-Freedman:	R. M. Grant and D. N. Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus* (1960).
Hist. eccl.:	Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica*.
Hennecke-Wilson I:	E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 3d ed. rev. W. Schneemelcher; Vol. I: Gospels and Related Writings; trans. and ed. R. McL. Wilson (1963).
Hennecke-Schneemelcher II:	E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*. 3., völlig neubearbeitete Aufl. hrsg. von W. Schneemelcher. II. Band: Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes (1964).
James:	M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (1955).

Jeremias:	J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus* (1958).
Kasser:	R. Kasser, *L'Evangile selon Thomas* (1961).
Montefiore:	H. Montefiore, "A Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel according to Thomas and of the Synoptic Gospels," in H. Montefiore and H. E. W. Turner, *Thomas and the Evangelists* (1962).
PG:	J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Graeca*, 162 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866)
PL:	J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864)
P. Oxy.:	Oxyrhynchus Papyrus
Turner:	H. E. W. Turner, "The Gospel of Thomas: Its History, Transmission and Sources," and "The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas," H. Montefiore and H. E. W. Turner, *Thomas and the Evangelist* (1962).
VC:	*Vigiliae Christianae* (Amsterdam, 1947--).
Wilson:	R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas* (1960).

VERSIONS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE

KJV:	The King James (Authorized) Version (1611)
RV:	The Revised Version (1881-1885)
ASV:	The American Standard Version (1901)
RSV:	The Revised Standard Version (1946-1952)
NEB:	The New English Bible: New Testament (1961)

(Unless otherwise specified, Old Testament passages are quoted from the American Standard Version, and New Testament passages from the Revised Standard Version.)

PART I

THE DISCOVERY OF THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE DISCOVERY OF THE NAG HAMMADI COLLECTION

The Nag Hammadi collection, which was discovered in Upper Egypt twenty years ago, comprises forty-nine books written in Coptic. In total, it consists of approximately one thousand leaves, divided into thirteen leather-bound volumes or codices.

These manuscripts, as will be described shortly, were found by local Egyptian peasants in an old cemetery near the site of the ancient Chenoboskion, the modern Es-Sayyad, on the right bank of the Nile about sixty miles downstream from Luxor. Hence the documents are sometimes associated with the name of "Chenoboskion."[1]

More commonly, however, they go under the name of "Nag Hammadi," since the site of the discovery is located only a few miles away from the present small village of Nag Hammadi, on the other side of the river.[1]

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[1] E.g., Jean Doresse and Togo Mina, "Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Egypte: La bibliothèque de Chénoboskion," Vigiliae Christianae (hereafter referred to as: VC), III (1949), pp. 129-41; Victor Roland Gold, "The Gnostic Library of Chenoboskion," The Biblical Archaeologist Reader, Vol. I, ed. G. Ernest Wright and David Noel Freedman ("Anchor Books"; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961), pp. 299-329. Some scholars definitely prefer to call the MSS the "Library of Chenoboskion"; cf., e.g., Kendrick Grobel, The Gospel of Truth (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960), p. 8.

The story of this discovery is not yet clear in every detail. Even today, the chief source of information appears to be the accounts given by the French scholar, Jean Doresse, of the Louvre, who made a trip himself to the exact location of the discovery in 1950.[2] The following description, therefore, is primarily based on his story, though at times it is also supplemented by other sources. As far as the present writer is able to determine, what follows appears to have been the most probable course of events surrounding the discovery of those manuscripts.

In September, 1947, Doresse visited Egypt to pursue research at the French Institute of Archaeology, located in Cairo. Upon his arrival, Togo Mina, then Director of the Coptic Museum in Old Cairo,[3] showed him some pages from a papyrus codex. These were wrapped in the codex cover of soft leather. These sample pages were inscribed with large, beautiful Coptic writing.

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[1] E.g., Rodolphe Kasser, "Les manuscrits de Nag' Hammadi: faits, documents, problèmes," Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie (Lausanne, 1959), pp. 357-70; Willem Cornelis van Unnik, Openbaringen uit Egyptisch Zand: De vondesten bij Nag-Hammadi (Den Haag, 1959); R. McL. Wilson, "The Gnostic Library of Nag Hammadi," Scottish Journal of Theology, XII (1959), pp. 161-70.

[2] Doresse, The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics, trans. Philip Mairet (London: Hollis & Carter, 1960), pp. 116-36. Hereafter referred to as: Doresse. Cf. also idem, "Sur les traces des papyrus gnostiques: Recherches à Chénoboskion," Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique (Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, 5. Série, XXXVI (1950), pp. 432-39. For a sketch map of the location of the discovery, see van Unnik, Evangelien aus dem Nilsand (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Heinrich Scheffler, 1960), p. 15.

[3] Doresse, "Togo Mina, 1906-1949," Chronique d'Egypte, XXV (1950), p. 389.

How did these manuscripts reach there? According to what Doresse reports, they had previously been offered by a dealer to an eminent Coptic scholar in Cairo, Dr. G. Sobhy, who in turn sent him to the Coptic Museum. There Togo Mina expressed his insistence that the documents should not be allowed to leave the country. A little later he obtained them for the Museum. Evidently, all this took place sometime during 1946.

During the following year (1947), Doresse, who was to play the leading role in bringing these manuscripts to the attention of the academic world, visited Cairo, as mentioned above. He was the individual who later gave to this group of manuscripts the number "Codex I." This designation has been followed by all other scholars, even Henri-Charles Puech, of Collège de France in Paris, who otherwise proposed his own system of enumeration.[1]

With the Director's permission, Doresse informed Canon Etiénne Drioton, then Director-General of the Service of Antiquities, concerning the new manuscripts which he had just seen. At the same time, Doresse invited Professors Puech, of Paris, and Walter C. Till, of Manchester, to join with Togo Mina and himself in a committee to work for these manuscripts' publication.

In that same year, 1947, it was learned that a Belgian antiquarian by the name of Albert Eid had bought in Cairo another volume of some one hundred papyrus leaves, similar to those which had been obtained by the Museum. Upon hearing this, Togo Mina recommended to the Council of the Coptic Museum that the Museum should acquire this second group of manuscripts. Eid was informed that he would not be allowed by the government to send or take any such document out of Egypt. However, despite such warnings, the manuscripts were later removed from the country. This volume is what eventually became known as the "Jung Codex."[1]

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[1] Doresse, p. 142; Henri-Charles Puech, "Découverte d'une bibliothèque gnostique en Haute-Égypte," Encyclopédie Française, t. XIX (Paris, 1957).

Subsequently in the same year, Doresse visited Upper Egypt, especially Luxor. However, he was unable to gain any definitive information regarding the circumstances under which either of these two codices had been discovered.

Togo Mina finally became convinced that no more manuscripts from this same find were in existence. With the consequent allaying of his fears that exorbitant prices would be charged for holdout manuscripts, he felt the time for public announcement of the find at last had come. Accordingly, on January 11 and 12, 1948, he released to the Egyptian press the first official news about the acquisition by the Coptic Museum of what is now known as Codex I. However, to the Egyptians, who were accustomed to archaeological wonders, this announcement apparently meant little.

Shortly afterward, Doresse returned to Paris. There he and Puech jointly made, on February 20, 1948, the first report on both codices to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of the Institut de France.[2] This report, according to Doresse, aroused a moderate degree of interest in France and elsewhere in Europe.

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[1] The "Jung Codex" is designated as "Codex II" by Puech, and as "Codex XIII" by Doresse.

[2] Doresse and Puech, "Nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Égypte," Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Séance du 20 Fevrier, 1948), pp. 87-95.

The February 23, 1948 issue of the French newspaper, Le Monde, carried the following article:

> Discovery of a papyrus of the fourth century. The Academy has been informed of the discovery, recently made in Egypt, of a collection on papyrus, of 152 pages, dating from the sixth century of our era. It contains in Coptic translation five unpublished Gnostic books. They furnish interesting information about the beliefs of that time.[1]

Simultaneously, in Egypt, Togo Mina also published the same information at the Institute of Egypt.[2]

In the meantime, Doresse received, in confidence, from an Egyptian lady named Miss Dattari photographs of some manuscripts which looked much like those that had been acquired by the Coptic Museum. These caused him to go to Egypt immediately.

Upon arrival in Cairo he found not only the few isolated manuscript leaves that had been sent to him in photograph earlier, but eleven volumes in all. Almost all were in perfect state of preservation, in their bindings of flexible leather. Doresse was allowed to go through all those manuscripts. In analyzing them, he was able to enumerate a total of some forty new writings hitherto unknown or, at best, known only by name.

How did these manuscripts get into the hands of this lady? According to Doresse's report, the story in broad outline is as follows. Out of those eleven volumes, then in her possession, three had been offered by a dealer to a certain learned expert in

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[1] Doresse, p. xii. He, however, comments on this article as follows: "The report made to the Académie des Inscriptions was, at least, a good deal more accurate than this notice would lead one to suppose" (ibid.).

[2] Togo Mina, "Le papyrus gnostique du Musée Copte," VC, II (1948), pp. 129-36; cf. also Doresse, "Trois livres gnostiques inédits," VC, II (1948), pp. 137-60.

Cairo. However, he not only rejected them as worthless but also failed to inform anyone else about them.

Perhaps because of the value attributed to similar manuscripts at the Coptic Museum, as just announced by Togo Mina in Egypt and by Doresse and Puech in France, this lady, Miss Dattari, daughter of a well-known numismatist, became interested in these manuscripts and purchased all she could lay her hands on.

In the spring of 1949, Miss Dattari, advised by Canon Drioton and Doresse, agreed to submit the whole collection of manuscripts in eleven volumes to Togo Mina, who in turn strongly urged the Council of the Coptic Museum to acquire them. The Council then commissioned Doresse to draw up a detailed expert description of the manuscripts. This description, according to Doresse's own words, remains until today the only complete and direct inventory of the documents that has ever been made. On the basis of this inventory the Council decided to purchase from her the entire collection for the Museum.

At the same time, Doresse had been authorized by the owner, Miss Dattari, with approval of the Egyptian authorities, to make the discovery of those eleven volumes of manuscripts known to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, as well as to other major learned societies, in the form of a summary of the report that had been prepared by him.[1]

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[1] In addition to the aforementioned article written jointly by Doresse and Togo Mina (in VC, III [1949], pp. 129-41), the following, all written by Doresse, may be mentioned: "Nouveaux documents gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Egypt," Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris, 1949), pp. 176-80; "Une bibliothèque gnostique copte découverte en Haute-

Meanwhile, the first pages of a critical edition of the first volume (Codex I), which had been obtained by the Coptic Museum and which Togo Mina had shown Doresse in 1947, were set up in the press of the Imprimerie Nationale in Paris. The Egyptian authorities had given permission, and the Commission des Fouilles Archéologiques, on the French side, had offered support toward this undertaking. Unfortunately, however, this publication has never materialized, due to political changes in Egypt. The same inopportune circumstances have also prevented Miss Dattari's manuscripts from being legally acquired by the Museum.

Among those unfortunate incidents, which had little or nothing to do essentially with archaeology or scholarship, were the government officers' revolution which overturned King Farouk's regime; the assassination of Nokrashi Rasha, Prime Minister; the fall of the new government, under which Ali Ayyab, Minister of Public Instruction, almost succeeded in securing for the Coptic Museum a sum of fifty thousand Egyptian pounds for purchasing the manuscripts from Miss Dattari; etc.

As new personnel became ushered into the top levels of the Egyptian Government at each of these changes, negotiations became

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Egypt," Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique (Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques), 5. Série, XXXV (1949), pp. 435-49; "Une bibliothèque gnostique copte," La Nouvelle Clio, I (1949), pp. 59-70; "A Gnostic Library from Upper Egypt," Archaeology, III (New York, 1950), pp. 69-73; "Douze volumes dans une jarre," Les Nouvelles Littéraires, No. 1139 (Paris, June 30, 1949); "Nouveaux aperçus historiques sur les gnostiques coptes: Ophites et Séthiens," Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte, XXXI (1948-1949), pp. 409-19; "Les gnostiques d'Egypte," La Table Ronde, No. 107 (November, 1956), pp. 85-96; "Le Roman d'une grande découverte," Les Nouvelles Litteraires, No. 1560 (July 25, 1957).

started anew. However, they invariably were broken off by new political developments before any settlement was reached. In addition, as one consequence of the new government's strongly nationalistic bent under the leadership of Nasser, considerable suspicion of "western" influence developed, directed particularly against France.

In the midst of such political confusion and turmoil, the month of October, 1949, witnessed the lamented and untimely death of Togo Mina after some months of illness.

Before 1950 knowledge concerning the circumstances under which this important collection of manuscripts from Upper Egypt had been discovered was severely limited, in the sense that the available information was almost entirely based on second-hand sources. It was rumored that the manuscripts had been dug up near Hamra-Dum, in the vicinity of Nag Hammadi, some sixty miles downstream from Luxor. They were supposed to have been found buried in an earthenware pot in an old cemetery near the site of the ancient town of Chenoboskion, at the foot of the desert cliff called Gebel-et-Tarif. It was assumed that the discovery had been made either in 1945 or early 1946, but more likely in 1945. Besides, rumor had it that two of the codices then discovered had been partially used by the fellahin as fuel for making their tea, and that the rest had been sold for a surprisingly small amount of money to a dealer who then took them to Cairo.

At least that much information was gathered by Doresse in the course of investigation carried on during his visits to Egypt in 1947 and the following two years. All this, however, was based merely on indirect information, thus lacking proof and possible accuracy. It therefore was felt necessary that the supposed data of the discovery be somehow proved and confirmed on the basis of first-hand investigation on the very spot where the discovery presumably had been made.

Doresse was determined to undertake this task by himself. Accordingly, in 1950, he returned for another visit to Upper Egypt, this time to the exact locality in question. Upon arrival in the neighborhood of Chenoboskion, the peasants guided him to the southern part of an old cemetery. There he was shown a series of cavities without shape. He was told that not long ago some peasants of Hamra-Dum and Ed-Debba, searching for natural fertilizer, found there a great jar. It was filled with a great quantity of papyrus leaves bound together like books. The jar was destroyed and nothing remained of it. The manuscripts, they told him, were taken to Cairo and no one knows what had happened to them since. As to the exact location of the discovery, their opinion differed by some few dozen yards. However, says Doresse, everyone was certain it was just about there.[1]

It was also learned from the people of nearby villages and churches that the find was made "four years ago," which means either 1945 or 1946. Several of those people still remembered that they had seen and handled the manuscripts. A young Coptic priest by the name of David, whose photograph has been reproduced in Doresse's book,[1] apparently even tried to read them. However, this was unsuccessful since the manuscripts were written in Coptic dialects other than the Bohairic which is used in his church liturgy. In this connection, Doresse calls attention to "notes" in the margin on one page of the manuscripts, written obviously in a modern ink. He thinks perhaps this man, David, scribbled them with his stylograph. While there, Doresse learned that all the manuscripts that were intact had been sold for three Egyptian pounds, which is equivalent to $8.62, and that no one had since thought about them any more.

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[1] According to Bertil Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, trans. Eric J. Sharpe (London: Collins, 1961 [hereafter referred to as: Gärtner]), p. 11, n. 1, the Danish scholar, S. Giversen, "does not consider that this place has been satisfactorily proved to be identical with the place at which the discovery was made"; Giversen, Thomasevangeliet (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 15.

That was about all the particulars that Doresse could collect about the discovery of the momentous manuscripts, presumably unearthed at the foot of the cliff Gebel-et-Tarif in the region of Chenoboskion and Nag Hammadi. Part of this information, according to Doresse, was obtained from the Bedouins who had settled as squatters around the cemetery.[2]

Also in the same year, 1950, Puech published a provisional inventory in an article contributed in memory of that great British Copticist, Walter Ewing Crum.[3] Although Puech himself does not say so, his inventory must have been based on the one that had been prepared earlier by Doresse, if the latter's own account referred to above is correct.[1]

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[1] Doresse, between pp. 222 and 223.

[2] _Ibid_., pp. 127-34.

[3] Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Egypte," _Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum_ (Boston, 1950), pp. 91-154.

Two years later, in 1952, the Egyptian Government issued a new law controlling antiquities under Taha Hussein, now Minister of Public Instruction. This made it possible for the Dattari manuscripts in eleven codices, which since 1949 had been kept in the "Service of Antiquities," to be moved to the Coptic Museum and kept there in a sealed coffer. It must be said also that in that same year Dr. Pahor Labib was appointed the new Director of the Coptic Museum as the successor of the late Togo Mina. Labib is the person especially responsible for publication later on of the photographic edition of the text of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, and, jointly with other scholars, of other parts of the Nag Hammadi collection.[2]

Meanwhile, the codex in the possession of Albert Eid had been taken out of the country without government authorization. The high price requested by the owner was obviously the main cause of difficulty for any one to purchase it immediately. Even in the

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[1] Cf. Puech, "The Jung Codex and the Other Gnostic Documents from Nag Hammadi," The Jung Codex, trans. and ed. F. L. Cross (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1955), p. 20.

[2] Pahor Labib, Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, Vol. I (Cairo: Government Press, 1956); Vol. II (Cairo, 1962); Alexander Böhlig and P. Labib, Die koptisch-gnostische Schrift ohne Titel aus Codex II von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo ("Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung Veröffentlichung," 58; Berlin, 1962); Martin Krause and P. Labib, Die drei Versionen der Apokryphen des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo ("Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut in Kairo, Koptische Reihe," 1; Wiesbaden, 1962); A. Böhlig and P. Labib, Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo ("Sonderband der wissenschaftlichen Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität"; Halle-Wittenberg, 1963).

United States of America where it became offered for sale, particularly to the Bollingen Foundation at New York and the University of Michigan, the asking price was regarded as exorbitant. The main reason why no institution in the United States would purchase the codex, however, was that it was contraband. Since it had been taken out of Egypt illegally, purchase in the United States might lead to Egypt's laying claim to it. It was feared that, in such a situation, the United States Government might demand that the codex be turned over to Egypt, in order to keep in her good graces.

After a long series of tedious negotiations and investigations, which lasted for several years, it finally was sold to Gilles Quispel, of the University of Utrecht, for the Jung Institute at Zürich in Switzerland. Quispel was acting on behalf of an American philanthropist, who ultimately presented the codex to the famous Swiss psychologist, Carl Gustav Jung, on his eightieth birthday. The gift seems to have cost more than ten thousand dollars. The purchase was made at Brussels on May 10, 1952. Quispel reports that it was agreed under the terms of sale that the acquisition should not be made known to the public until November 10, 1953.

During those eighteen months, he and Puech made a thorough examination of the manuscripts. Subsequently, both scholars were commissioned to edit it. Also, to W. C. van Unnik, of Utrecht, was entrusted the task of appraising the significance of this discovery for New Testament study. Michel Malinine, of Paris, was primarily entrusted with the editing of the Coptic text. The result of this cooperative effort, in part, as will be noted, was the publication of the Evangelium Veritatis four years later.[1]

During succeeding years Egypt experienced more crucial tides of political revolution. The administration of pharaonic antiquities, which hitherto had been excercised under the direction of French personnel from the days of Mariette until the time of Canon Drioton, became placed now in the hands of an Egyptian director, Dr. Mustafa Amer. Under the centralized authority of this newly organized "Service" were now put together the administration of the Coptic Museum, the Arabic Museum, and the Arab Antiquities, which previously had been administered as separate institutions, wholly independent of one another.

In the meantime, Miss Dattari, whose precious possession virtually had been taken from her without compensation, became indignant. She accordingly brought suit against the government for either proper compensation or the return of her property. So far as known to the present writer, no settlement of this lawsuit has as yet been reached.

The following two years, 1955 and 1956, deserve special attention because of the appearance of three publications, all related, directly or indirectly, to the Nag Hammadi manuscripts. The first of these came in 1955, when Walter C. Till published the important and long-waited-for Coptic manuscripts called "Papyrus

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[1] For the "Jung Codex" in general, cf. Quispel, "The Jung Codex and Its Significance," The Jung Codex, trans. and ed. F. L. Cross (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1955), p. 43, et passim; Van Unnik, Evangelien aus dem Nilsand, pp. 18-21; idem, Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings ("Studies in Biblical Theology," No. 30; London: SCM Press, 1960), pp. 11-12; Robert M. Grant and David Noel Freedman, The Secret Sayings of Jesus (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960), p. 19 (hereafter referred to as: Grant-Freedman); Doresse, p. 121.

Berolinensis 8502."[1] This work was completed sixty years after the distinguished Coptic scholar, Carl Schmidt, first started working on them in 1896. Admittedly, these Berlin manuscripts are not part of the Nag Hammadi collection. Nevertheless, these two bodies of documents have important interrelationship, due chiefly to the fact that two out of the three books contained in the Berlin codex are found also in the Nag Hammadi collection. These are the Apocryphon of John and the Sophia Jesu Christi, as shown in the list of the contents of the Nag Hammadi collection at the end of the present chapter.

In Egypt, Pahor Labib, new Director of the Coptic Museum, began to address himself to the problems of the institution which had been placed in his charge. One of his first acts was to give attention to those precious Coptic manuscripts which had been entrusted to him. He at once set up a new editorial committee for their publication. The committee's first meeting was held at Cairo in October, 1956, just before the outbreak of the Suez incident. Apparently, not all members of the committee were able to be present at that time.[2]

The immediate outcome of this committee's work was the publication, in 1956, of the photographic reproduction of what is now known as Codex III (Doresse's Codex X).[1] According to Doresse, this codex is the most beautiful and voluminous of all the thirteen codices in the entire Nag Hammadi collection. This codex has decorated binding, the Egyptian cross on its front, with thongs attached at top and bottom, and on the overflap, for tying. Its format is twenty-seven by twenty-one centimeters. The codex consists of 175 pages of about thirty-seven lines each, and is divided into seven separate books. In this photographic edition of Labib, the Gospel of Thomas extends from Plate 80, line 10, to Plate 99, line 28.[2]

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[1] Till, Die gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502 ("Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," 60. Band [= V. Reihe, Band 5]; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955).

[2] Doresse, p. 124, speaks of this committee meeting as follows: "Only two of the five European specialists invited by the Egyptian authorities could reply to this invitation in time; I myself received it too late to make the journey."

The third, of these important publications under discussion, is that of one of the books in the Jung Codex, as previously mentioned. This work appeared also in 1956, under the Latin title Evangelium Veritatis, edited and translated by Michel Malinine, Henri-Charles Puech, and Gilles Quispel.[3] This edition contains the complete photographic fascimiles of the papyrus itself, the text printed in Coptic type, and the translation in three modern European languages.[1]

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[1] Labib, Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo, Vol. I (Cairo: Government Press, 1956). This volume also contains, on Plates 5, 6, 9, and 10, the four leaves that are missing from the Jung Codex.

[2] The "official" edition of the Gospel of Thomas in Coptic type with an English translation is given by A. Guillaumont, H.-C. Puech, G. Quispel, W. C. Till and Yassah ʿAbd al Masīḥ, The Gospel according to Thomas: Coptic Text Established and Translated (Leiden: E. J. Brill, and New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959). Unless otherwise specified, this translation is followed in this dissertation. The French and German editions also have been made available through the above-mentioned Dutch publisher.

[3] M. Malinine, H.-C. Puech, and G. Quispel (eds.), Evangelium Veritatis (Zürich: Rascher Verlag, 1956). This is the editio princeps of the Gospel of Truth contained in the Jung Codex, and includes an English translation along with French and German translations.

Thus the years 1955 and 1956 will long be remembered on account of the publication of these three important books. For the first time, they opened the way so that scholarly and scientific research on the Nag Hammadi collection could be done by competent scholars throughout the world on the basis of its original text. It may be pointed out that, prior to that time, no one, except for a small inner circle, was in a position to work on any portion of the manuscripts from Nag Hammadi. This should be kept in mind, despite the fact that there had been produced a number of monographs and articles dealing with them as a whole, or with portions thereof, during the period preceding 1955.

The language in which the majority of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts are written is the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, which was used in Upper Egypt. This was the most important of all dialects in the literary history of the Copts.[2] Exceptions to this general rule are the first book of Codex VI and the whole of the Jung Codex (Codex II), which are written in the dialect of Middle Egypt, namely, the Sub-Achmimic.

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[1] The English translation in this edition has been criticized by some scholars as the "least satisfactory"; e.g. K. Grobel, *op. cit.*, p. 29, stated as follows: "It is a translation of a translation--the French--with little or no reference to the Coptic, made by a translator whose mother tongue obviously was not English."

[2] Cf. William H. Worrell, *A Short Account of the Copts* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan Press, 1945), *passim*. For a general discussion of the Coptic language and its dialects, cf. Till, *Koptische Grammatik: Saidischer Dialekt* ("Lehrbücher für das Studium der orientalischen Sprachen," Band I; 2., verbesserte Auflage; Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1961), pp. 29-39.

The most important of all criteria for dating the manuscripts is that of palaeography. According to Doresse, a total of nine different "hands" or styles of writing can be distinguished in the manuscripts from Nag Hammadi. They represent, in continuous succession, various stages in the evolution of Coptic calligraphy, ranging in date from the late third to the early fifth centuries. These dates thus cover the period during which the forty-nine books of the Nag Hammadi collection were copied.[1]

The question as to who produced those copies and preserved such a collection can only be conjectured. The chief difficulty arises out of the fact that so far only a small portion of its original manuscripts have been published. However, one can readily see, even from a brief survey of its contents, that immediately behind this magnificent collection of Coptic manuscripts probably stood a group of Egyptians, who had organized themselves into a religious community of their own, before the end of the fourth century or, at the latest, the beginning of the fifth century. The members of this particular group may have been the "Sethian-Ophites" as referred to by Irenaeus,[2] or the "Naassenes" mentioned by Hippolytus.[1] Under the present circumstances, however, it is difficult to identify exactly who were directly responsible for the collection and preservation of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts as they now stand.

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[1] The system of arranging and numbering the Nag Hammadi manuscripts proposed by Doresse, as will be shown shortly in the list of the contents of the entire collection, makes full use of the palaeographic evidences and the results of calligraphic analyses. Compared with the system of Puech, therefore, Doresse's method appears to have the advantage of presenting the thirteen codices from Nag Hammadi approximately in the order they were copied.

[2] Irenaeus Adversus Haereses (hereafter referred to as: Adv. haer.) i. 30; J. P. Migne (ed.), Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Series Graeca (hereafter referred to as: PG) VII, Caput XXX, "De Ophitis et Sethianis."

The highly complex and syncretistic nature of the thought-world, with which this library presumably was associated, may be further evidenced by the fact that one of its codices, i.e. Codex XI (Doresse's Codex VI), contains at least five Hermetic writings.[2] This means that a collection of such Hermetic works probably was in circulation in Upper Egypt during the period in which the Nag Hammadi manuscripts were copied, namely, the fourth century. Those Hermetic treatises presumably had already been translated from Greek into Coptic, and no doubt were in use among those sectaries in the same region.

What bearing does all this have upon the present study of the literary development of the Gospel of Thomas, which is part of this tremendous library? It seems likely that the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, as it now stands, had some connection with a group of Egyptian Gnostics before the end of the fourth century, as suggested above. This, however, does not settle the matter of the origin of the Gospel of Thomas and the probable course of its literary development. That these problems exist, there can be no question, since the Gospel of Thomas appears to have had its own history behind it before it took upon itself a Coptic dress.

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[1] Hippolytus Refutatio v. 6-16 (PG XVI-3, cols. 3124-76; GCS 26, pp. 77-114 [Wendland]).

[2] Nos. 42, 43, 44, 46, and 47, in the list which follows.

Before going into the discussion of these problems, however, it seems appropriate at this point to make a quick survey of the entire contents of the Nag Hammadi collection. As pointed out previously, it contains a total of forty-nine books, divided into thirteen volumes or codices. Not counting duplicates, i.e., where there is more than one copy of the same book, the total number of different individual works amounts to forty-four.[1]

As mentioned earlier, there are today two systems of arranging and enumerating the manuscripts that are contained in the Nag Hammadi collection: one proposed by Doresse, and the other by Puech.[2] The present writer, like most others, follows the system developed by the latter. However, in the list which follows, the corresponding numbering of Doresse is also shown in parentheses for the sake of convenience.

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[1] A fairly detailed survey of the contents of the Nag Hammadi collection is given by Doresse, pp. 146-248. There he describes all the "Forty-Four Secret (And Hitherto Unknown) Books."

[2] Doresse, pp. 142-45; Puech's article in *Encyclopédie Française* (1957). Van Unnik, following Puech, also gives his list in *Evangelium aus dem Nilsand* (1960), pp. 26-28, and *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings* (1960), pp. 16-17.

A LIST OF THE CONTENTS OF THE NAG HAMMADI MANUSCRIPTS

Codex I[1] (I)

(1) The Apocryphon of John[2] (=Nos. 11, 32)

(2) The Sacred Book of the Great Invisible Spirit[3] (=No. 33)

(3) A Letter of the Blessed Eugnostus (=No. 27)

(4) The Sophia Jesu Christi[4]

(5) The Dialogue of the Redeemer

Codex II[5] (XIII) "The Jung Codex"

(6) The Apocryphon of James[6]

(7) The Gospel of Truth[7]

(8) A Letter to Rheginos concerning the Resurrection[8]

(9) A Treatise (without title)[9]

(10) The Prayer of the Apostle Peter

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[1] Acquired by Togo Mina for the Coptic Museum (1946).

[2] Also found in the Berlin Coptic Papyrus MSS 8502; published by Till (1955). The three versions of this Apocryphon published by Krause and Labib (1961).

[3] Or, The Gospel of the Egyptians (as in the colophon). However, this must not be confused with the apocryphal Gospel under the same title, already known from Clement of Alexandria and Origen.

[4] Also found in the Berlin Coptic Papyrus MSS 8502.

[5] Since 1952 known as the "Jung Codex"; written in Sub-Achmimic.

[6] Not to be confused with Nos. 29 and 30, infra.

[7] Published by Malinine, Puech, and Quispel (1956); later trans. Grobel (1960); W. W. Isenberg (1961).

[8] Published by Malinine, Puech, Quispel, and Till (1963).

[9] Published by Böhlig and Labib (1962).

Codex III[1] (X)

(11) The Apocryphon of John (=Nos. 1, 32)

(12) The Gospel of Thomas[2]

(13) The Gospel of Philip[3]

(14) The Hypostasis of the Archons[4]

(15) A Revelation (dedicated to "Pistis Sophia"; without title) (=No. 19)

(16) The Exegesis concerning the Soul

(17) The Book of Thomas the Athlete

Codex IV (IX)

(18) The Threefold Discourse of the Threefold Protennoia, the Sacred Book Written by the Father (i.e. Seth)

(19) A Revelation (=No. 15)

Codex V (VII)

(20) A Paraphrase of Shem (described at the end as the Second Treatise of the Great Seth)

(21) The Revelation of Peter

(22) Teachings of Silvanus

(23) The Revelation of Dositheus (or, The Three Pillars of Seth)

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[1] Published in part by Labib.(1956).

[2] First trans. Leipoldt (1958). The "official" edition published by Guillaumont, Puech, Quispel, Till, and Yassah ʿAbd al-Masīḥ (eds.), in 1959. Other versions in various languages will be referred to in the next chapter.

[3] First trans. Hans-Martin Schenke (1959); subsequently by Wilson (1962), C. J. de Catanzaro (1962), and Till (1963).

[4] First trans. Schenke (1958). Doresse, p. 144, identified this book with the Book of Norea, but this theory has been subjected to severe criticisms.

Codex VI (VIII)

(24) The Exposition of Gnosis[1]

(25) The Most High Allogenes

(26) The Revelation of Messos

Codex VII (III)

(27) A Letter of the Blessed Eugnostus (=No. 3)

(28) The Revelation of Paul

(29) The Revelation of James[2]

(30) Another Revelation of James[3]

(31) The Revelation of Adam to His Son Seth

Codex VIII (II)

(32) The Apocryphon of John (=Nos. 1, 11)

(33) The Sacred Book of the Great Invisible Spirit (=No. 2)

Codex IX (IV)

(34) A Revelation (without title)

(35) A Discourse of Zoroaster on the Truth[4]

(36) The Letter of Peter to Philip

Codex X (V)

(37) A Revelation (attributed to the Great Seth; without title)

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[1] Written in Sub-Achmimic.

[2] Not to be confused with No. 6 *supra*, nor with No. 30 *infra*.

[3] Not to be confused with Nos. 6 and 29, *supra*.

[4] Or, according to Doresse, pp. 142 and 257, "Discourse of Truth by Zostrian; God of Truth; Discourse of Zoroaster."

(38) A Letter (concerning the Father of the Universe and Adam, the First Man; without title)

(39) A Treatise (in the form of a letter; without title)

(40) A Treatise (against the Scribes and Pharisees concerning the baptism of John; without title)

Codex XI (VI)

(41) The Acts of Peter

(42) An Authentic Address of Hermes to Tat[1]

(43) The Thought of the Great Power

(44) A Hermetic Treatise (without title)

(45) A Sethian Revelation (without title)

(46) A Hermetic Treatise (without title)

(47) Another Hermetic Treatise (without title)

Codex XII (XII)

(48) Fragments of a Mystic Treatise on the Cosmos

Codex XIII (XI)

(49) Fragments of Works[2]

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[1] Nos. 42, 43, 44, 46, and 47, are Hermetic writings.

[2] According to Doresse, p. 145, this collection of fragments deals with, "among other subjects, the influence of demons upon the soul."

CHAPTER II

THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS:
A COLLECTION OF LOGIA

Of the 175 pages that constitute Codex III of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts, about twenty pages are occupied by a relatively small work which, according to its colophon, is called "The Gospel according to Thomas" (ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲡⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ). In the photographic reproduction, published by Pahor Labib in 1956, it is found on Plates 80 (line 10) through 99 (line 28). Since 1958, it has been translated into various modern European languages.[1]

The Gospel according to Thomas, or more conveniently the Gospel of Thomas, distinguishes itself for its remarkable literary characteristics which cannot be overlooked or ignored. It is unmistakably clear, first of all, that the new Coptic Gospel is a collection of sayings, or "logia," allegedly spoken by Jesus and purportedly written down by one of his disciples, Thomas.

Needless to say, the manuscript of Thomas is written continuously, much the same way as the original Biblical manuscripts were, thereby giving no outward marks of division into individual logia. Consequently, it is not always easy to decide as to the exact division points at which the various logia begin. This accounts for the existence today of different methods of enumeration.

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[1] The first such translation was made in German by Johannes Leipoldt, "Ein neues Evangelium? Das koptische Thomasevangelium," Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXXIII (July, 1958), cols. 481-96. Since then there have appeared several others in Danish, Dutch, English, French and Swedish.

Even though the manuscript shows no outward sign of logia-division, however, there is in Thomas itself one significant literary feature which gives a clue to possible separation of the text into individual segments. That is the repeated use in the Gospel of the more or less stereotyped formula: "Jesus said" (ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅), or simply, "he said" (ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ). These occurrences may almost certainly be construed as introducing separate logia. However, this does not lead automatically to a complete solution of the numbering problem. Although there is a certain degree of consistency in the use of such a formula, it sometimes fails to appear at places where the contents seem to require it. In such cases the investigator must divide the text into individual logia in accordance with his own interpretation. Hence the difference in the actual number of logia proposed by various scholars.

For example, Doresse counts 118 separate sayings plus "incipit," while Leipoldt divides the Gospel into 112 sayings and "preface." The "official"edition, with the Coptic text established and translated by Guillaumont, Puech, Quispel, Till and Yassah ʿAbd al Masīḥ, offers still another figure. According to these scholars, there are in Thomas a total of 114 logia plus "prologue." This last-mentioned method of division is the numbering system which seems to be favored by more scholars working on the document than either of the other two. Therefore, it will be followed throughout this dissertation.

However, whatever the exact number of the logia, as arrived at by counting, all who work with the Coptic Gospel of Thomas are in agreement that it is a book consisting of a collection of separate sayings attributed to Jesus, preceded by an introduction or "prologue" at the beginning, and closing with a colophon giving the title of the book at the end.

This basic nature of the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas, as a sayings-collection, is in itself clear indication that what it presents in a Coptic dress is not to be identified with the previously known apocryphal "Gospel of Thomas," which tells many miracle stories, largely of legendary nature, about Jesus' childhood up to twelve years of age. Puech has observed that the Coptic Thomas has nothing to do with the above-mentioned apocryphal work bearing the name of Thomas, or with any other so-called "Infancy Gospels."[1] What becomes increasingly clear, as one proceeds with his study of the newly discovered Thomas, is that this book is an entirely different and independent apocryphon, of a type distinctly its own.

Moreover, the Coptic Thomas needs to be distinguished also from other "gospels" of conventional type, canonical or apocryphal, in that it contains no narrative stories or episodes from the life of Jesus. His birth, his ministry, his miracles, his conflict with the Pharisees, his suffering, death, and resurrection--all these themes are completely missing here. Not a single hint of the historical course of events connected with the life of Jesus is given. All that can be found here is merely a collection of disconnected logia purporting to have originated from Jesus himself.

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[1] See Puech's article on the Coptic Gospel of Thomas in Edgar Hennecke, New Testament Apocrypha, 3rd ed. rev. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; Vol. I: Gospels and Related Writings, ed. and trans. R. McL. Wilson (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963), p. 283. This English edition of Hennecke's book is referred to hereafter as: Hennecke-Wilson I. Cf. Oscar Cullmann's same view, ibid., p. 390.

Furthermore, these logia are independent of one another. Although listed consecutively, they are not arranged according to any logical plan or systematic framework. Because of this Gospel's unique nature as a collection of disconnected sayings attributed to Jesus, this new Gospel of Thomas cannot be regarded as belonging in the same literary category with the other apocryphal gospels, to say nothing of the canonical ones.

This difference is obvious, for example, when the Coptic Thomas is compared with the so-called "Jewish-Christian Gospels," such as the Gospels of the Nazaraeans, of the Hebrews, and of the Ebionites.[1] Judging from the extant fragments of these apocryphal Gospels, they all appear to indicate that their total content, in all likelihood, belongs to the same standard type of early Christian literature known as "gospels." As a rule, this term seems to have been reserved for accounts concerning Jesus that are largely of a narrative nature, or at least considerably so.

The same difference, again, is apparent when the content of the Nag Hammadi Thomas is contrasted with the other apocryphal "gospels" which are not classed as "Jewish-Christian." These are, for example, the Gospel of Peter, the Book of James (or, Protevangelium), and even such recent discoveries as the so-called "British Museum Gospel" (Papyrus Egerton 2). The last-mentioned Gospel is extant only in two imperfect leaves and one small scrap, but is generally considered as dating back to the first half of the second century.[1]

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[1] Cf. Philipp Vielhauer's discussions on the "Jewish-Christian Gospels" in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 117-65.

In addition to the "Jewish-Christian Gospels," and the other apocryphal Gospels just mentioned, there is another famous Gospel called the Gospel of the Egyptians. One must reserve final judgment on the exact nature of this apocryphal document because of the scantiness of materials to be used as a basis of such a judgment, since it is known only from the quotations of it found in patristic sources. Yet, there seems to be good reason to believe that this Gospel, unlike others so far referred to, may well have been composed of some doctrinal statements, as well as sayings of Jesus, compiled in a form resembling that of the Coptic Thomas.

The search for documents, bearing the title of "gospel," that are similar in nature to Thomas, leads ultimately to the Nag Hammadi library. Here one encounters "Gospels" that are most similar to the Coptic Thomas to the extent of containing no narrative materials. Of special note in this connection are the Gospel of Philip and the Gospel of Truth. Neither of these contains even any slight episode in Jesus' life in a narrative form.[2]

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[1] On P. Egerton 2, cf. Joachim Jeremias' article entitled "An Unknown Gospel With Johannine Elements," in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 94-97; cf. also Bell and Skeat, Fragments of an Unknown Gospel and other Early Christian Papyri (London, 1935), and The New Gospel Fragments (London: British Museum, 1935); Goro Mayeda, Das Leben-Jesu-Fragment Papyrus Egerton 2 und seine Stellung in der urchristlichen Literaturgeschichte (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1946); Jeremias, Unknown Sayings of Jesus, trans. Reginald H. Fuller (London: S. P. C. K., 1957; repr. 1958), pp. 18-20.

[2] For general discussions on these two Nag Hammadi Gospels, see Doresse, pp. 222-25, 239-41; Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp.

It seems in order at this point to take a closer look at the literary form of the logia in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. It has already been noted that in that book most of the logia are introduced by the simple formula "Jesus said" or "he said," and that the Gospel contains no reference to the situation in which a particular saying was spoken or with which it originally was closely bound up. Actually, however, such introductory clauses are sometimes slightly expanded so as to show something of the background of a given logion a little more clearly. For example, there are in Thomas at least twelve logia where it is represented that one of the disciples asked Jesus a question which eventually led to his words: Logia 6, 12, 18, 20, 24, 37, 43, 51, 52, 53, 99, and 113. Sometimes the questioner is Mary:

> Mary said to Jesus: Whom are thy disciples like?
> He said: They are like little children . . . .
>
> Logion 21 (84.33-85.1)[1]

or Salome:

> . . . .
> Salome said: Who art thou, man, and whose (son)? Thou didst take thy place upon my bench and eat from my table.

271-78, 233-41. More recent studies include Till, Das Evangelium nach Phillippos ("Patristische Texte und Studien," Bd. 2; Berlin, 1963); Wilson, The Gospel of Philip (New York: Harper & Row, 1962); C. J. de Catanzaro, "The Gospel According To Philip," Journal of Theological Studies, N.S., XIII (April, 1962), pp. 35-71; Grobel, The Gospel of Truth (New York: Abingdon Press, 1960). R. M. Grant made a comparative study between the Gospels of Thomas and of Philip in "Two Gnostic Gospels," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXIX (March, 1960), pp. 1-11.

[1] This and the following translations are taken from the "official" edition by A. Guillaumont et al. The figures in parentheses refer to the plate(s) and line(s) in Labib's photographic reproduction of the Gospel of Thomas.

> Jesus said to her: I am He who is from the Same, to Me was given from the things of My Father.
> . . . .
>
> Logion 61 (91.25-30)

or Peter:

> Simon Peter said to them: Let Mary go out from among us, because women are not worthy of the Life.
> Jesus said: See, I shall lead her, so that I will make her male, that she too may become a living spirit, resembling you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven.
>
> Logion 114 (99.18-26)

Sometimes the indefinite "a man" or "they" appears as one putting a question to Jesus:

> [A man said] to Him: Tell my brethren to divide my father's possessions with me.
> He said to him: O man, who made Me (a) divider?
> He turned to His disciples, he said to them: I am not a divider, am I?
>
> Logion 72 (94.1-6)[1]

> They said to Him: Tell us who Thou art so that we may believe in Thee.
> He said to them: You test the face of the sky and of the earth, and him who is before your face you have not known, and you do not know to test this moment.
>
> Logion 91 (96.20-25)

> They said [to Him]: Come and let us pray today and let us fast.
> Jesus said: Which then is the sin that I have committed, or in what have I been vanquished? But when the bridegroom comes out of the bridal chamber, then let them fast and let them pray.
>
> Logion 104 (98.10-16)

As seen in the logia quoted above, Jesus gave his answers to those questions put to him by others, his words being preceded by that familiar phrase: "Jesus said" or "he said."

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[1] Square brackets indicate that the letters within them are the editors' restoration of a lacuna in the Coptic manuscript of Thomas; round brackets (or parentheses) mean the editors' addition.

In at least four instances, the logion is introduced by a brief description of the situation or scene which invited him to utter his words:

> Jesus saw children who were being suckled.
> He said to his disciples: These children who are being suckled are like those who enter the Kingdom.
> . . . .
>
> Logion 22 (85.20-23)
>
> <They saw> a Samaritan carrying a lamb on his way to Judea.
> He said to His disciples: (Why does) this man (carry) the lamb with him?
> They said to Him: In order that he may kill it and eat it.
> He said to them: As long as it is alive, he will not eat it, but (only) if he has killed it and it has become a corpse.
> . . . .
>
> Logion 60 (91.12-18)[1]
>
> A woman from the multitude said to Him: Blessed is the womb which bore Thee and the breasts which nourished Thee.
> He said to [her]: Blessed are those who have heard the word of the Father (and) have kept it in truth. For there will be days when you will say: Blessed is the womb which has not conceived and the breasts which have not suckled.
>
> Logion 79 (95.3-12)
>
> They showed Jesus a gold (coin) and said to Him: Caesar's men ask taxes from us.
> He said to them: Give the things of Caesar to Caesar, give the things of God to God and give Me what is Mine.
>
> Logion 100 (97.27-31)

These slight expansions of the otherwise simple introductory sentence, however, are still far from being comparable to the kind of scene descriptions that are given in the canonical Gospels.

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[1] Angular brackets indicate the editors' correction. At the beginning of this logion ⲁⲩⲛⲁⲩ ("they saw") is omitted by haplography.

What might correspond to Rudolf Bultmann's "apophthegmata," Martin Dibelius' "paradigms," or Vincent Taylor's "pronouncement stories," namely, those Gospel stories which describe scenes or situations that are closely associated with the particular sayings of Jesus, are almost entirely missing in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. Likewise, there is in Thomas no account of involved disputes between Jesus and his opponents, which occupy so much of the Gospel materials in the New Testament.

Conversely, a good many sayings of Jesus, which are almost inseparably bound up with some historical situation in the canonical Gospels, are here in Thomas detached from their contexts and presented in a more or less amplified form as isolated sayings.

It also has been mentioned that the 114 logia contained in Thomas evidently were collected without any definite plan or framework on the part of the compiler or editor. There are, however, a few occasions where a certain key word seems to be playing the role of connecting link between separate sayings. For example, the word "flesh" (ⲥⲁⲣⲍ, a Greek loan word from σάρξ) apparently is used as such a word in Logia 28 and 29:

> Jesus said: I took my stand in the midst of the world and in flesh (ⲥⲁⲣⲍ) I appeared to them.
> . . . .
>
> Logion 28 (86.20-22)
>
> Jesus said: If the flesh (ⲥⲁⲣⲍ) has come into existence because of ‹the› spirit, it is a marvel;
> . . . .
>
> Logion 29 (86.31-33)

Similarly, in Logia 50 and 51 the word "rest" or "repose" (ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ, from the Greek word ἀνάπαυσις) appears to serve the same purpose:

> Jesus said: If they say to you: "From where have you originated?", say to them: "We have come from the Light,
>
> . . . .
>
> If they ask you: "What is the sign of your Father in you?", say to them: "It is a movement and a rest (ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ)."
>
> Logion 50 (89.30-90.7)

> His disciples said to Him: When will the repose (ⲁⲛⲁⲡⲁⲩⲥⲓⲥ) of the dead come about and when will the new world come?
> He said to them: What you expect has come, but you know it not.
>
> Logion 51 (90.7-12)

In some cases, two logia seem to be brought together on account of a correspondence in thought expressed by them. For instance, the way of handling one's brother seems to be the common interest in both Logia 25 and 26:

> Jesus said: Love thy brother as thy soul, guard him as the apple of thine eye.
>
> Logion 25 (86.10-12)

> Jesus said: The mote that is in thy brother's eye thou seest, but the beam that is in thine eye, thou seest not. When thou castest the beam out of thine eye, then thou wilt see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye.
>
> Logion 26 (86.12-17)

In Logia 49 and 50 the place of one's true origin appears to be the main subject:

> Jesus said: Blessed are the solitary and elect, for you shall find the Kingdom; because you come from it, (and) you shall go there again.
>
> Logion 49 (89.27-30)

> Jesus said: If they say to you: "From where have you originated?", say to them: "We have come from the Light, where the Light has originated through itself. It [stood] and it revealed itself in their image". If they say to you: "(Who) are you?", say: "We are His sons and we are

> the elect of the Living Father." If they ask you: "What is the sign of your Father in you?", say to them: "It is a movement and a rest."
>
> Logion 50 (89.30-90.7)

However, cases such as these are very few in number in the entire Gospel of Thomas. There is here nothing to be compared with that obvious editorial principle which is exhibited in the canonical Gospels, particularly in Matthew. Apart from the possible "Gnostic" touching-up at a later stage in the course of Thomas' literary development, traces of any conscious effort at editorial elaboration in the process of its composition are so slight as to be virtually negligible. To sum up what has been discussed, it once again should be recognized that the Coptic Gospel of Thomas is basically a collection of isolated logia attributed to Jesus.

* * *

Evidently, a logia-collection was not entirely unknown in the history of early Christian literature. It has been a matter of common assumption among scholars that the early Christians were engaged in the kind of literary activities which produced this type of literature. Such an assumption is based, for example, on the fact that, as early as the late first or the early second century, Papias (60?-130), Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor, referred to "the logia" (τὰ λόγια) in connection with the origin of the canonical Gospel of Matthew. Eusebius quoted him as saying:

> Matthew collected the oracles (τὰ λόγια) in the Hebrew language, and each interpreted them as best he could.[1]

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[1] Eusebius Historia Ecclesiastica (hereafter referred to as: Hist. eccl.) iii. 39. 16 (trans. Kirsopp Lake). For Papias' literary activities, see Horace Abram Rigg, Jr., "Papias on Mark," Novum Testamentum, I (Leiden, 1956), pp. 161-83.

Although this statement has been frequently cited by many New Testament critics, the opinions of scholars with regard to the exact meaning of the word "logia," as used by Papias, are far from being unanimous. Many volumes have been written on the subject, and various proposals have been made in an attempt to determine what Papias really meant by it.

One of the views that has been held most widely since the time of Irenaeus (130?-200?), Bishop of Lyons, is that the statement must be understood to mean that the apostle Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew (or Aramaic), and that this Gospel was then translated into Greek at later times.[1] This traditional theory provides a convenient ground for the theory of "Aramaic origins," in the canonical Gospels as well as the Acts. Thus, Charles Cutler Torrey, among others, declared that "Matthew wrote his gospel in Aramaic." Torrey accordingly identified Papias' "logia" with the Aramaic original of the First Gospel in the canonical New Testament.[2]

Is this the correct interpretation of the meaning of Papias' "logia"? Any judgment on this matter should be made on the basis of a close examination of Papias' own statement. Evidently, Papias is here speaking of four things: (1) that a collection of "logia" was compiled; (2) that it was written in Hebrew (or Aramaic); (3) that the compiler of this collection was a Matthew--presumably the apostle; and (4) that various people interpreted (or translated) it as best as they could--no doubt into Greek.

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[1] Irenaeus Adversus Omnes Haereses (hereafter referred to as: Adv. haer.) iii. 1. Irenaeus is also quoted in Eusebius Hist. eccl. v. 8. 2. Origen followed Irenaeus, as cited by Eusebius ibid. vi. 25. 4. Eusebius himself stated his own position to the same effect (ibid. iii. 24. 6).

[2] Torrey, The Four Gospels: A New Translation (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933), p. 253. On the subject of the meaning of Papias' "logia," cf. Benjamin W. Bacon, Studies in Matthew (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930), Appended Note II: "Meaning of the Term Λόγια," pp. 443-51, et passim.

The question that needs to be answered is: Does the present canonical *Matthew* meet these four conditions? It becomes immediately clear that (1) above does not adequately cover the actual contents of Matthew's Gospel. Nor do (2) and (4) sufficiently describe the nature of the First Gospel, so far as its original language is concerned, unless the so-called "Aramaic theory" be accepted. Finally, the *Gospel of Matthew* itself will not support its alleged Matthaean authorship as suggested in (3), unless the internal evidence be forced to make such a view feasible. Thus it appears evident that Papias' statement cannot be taken to refer to the *Gospel of Matthew*, as it now stands in the canonical New Testament.

A further objection to the view held by Irenaeus may be raised by the fact that Papias is said to have been the author of "Five Treatises," which, according to their subtitle, as reported by Eusebius, are "Interpretation of the Oracles of the Lord" (Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεως).[1] Although it is not absolutely impossible, it is hard to imagine that Papias should have written a five-volume commentary on the *Gospel of Matthew* at this early date in the history of early Christianity. The more natural way of interpreting the phrase "the logia of the Lord" here is to take it to signify the sayings of Jesus. What Eusebius reports, then, is simply that Papias wrote a five-volume exposition of the sayings of Jesus.

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[1] Eusebius *Hist. eccl*. iii. 39. 1 (trans. K. Lake).

It is likely that the same conclusion would also apply to Papias' statement quoted above. There, too, Papias is to be understood as saying in effect that Matthew composed a collection of the sayings of the Lord in Aramaic (which is more likely than in Hebrew), and that subsequently other people translated it into Greek so that they could make best use of it for their purposes.

Notice must be taken at this point of the fact that there are scholars who insist that the "logia" of Papias ought to be translated "oracles." This conclusion is based on the assumption that they are meant to refer to those Old Testament passages which were regarded by the early Christians as messianic predictions and as, therefore, fulfilled in the life and ministry of Jesus.[1] Frederick Clifton Grant, for example, insists that "logia" here must be rendered by "oracles" because the term "bears a technical meaning in Greek, and ordinarily means not 'sayings' but 'oracles'." What Matthew is said to have done, then, was to compose a collection of "the Old Testament prophecies of Christ," or testimonia, i.e., Old Testament messianic proof-texts against the Jews.[2]

Admittedly, such a view may have favorable support from the fact that there are in the Gospel of Matthew about a dozen "oracles" or "testimonies" explicitly cited from the Old Testament as having been fulfilled in the life of Jesus.[1]

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[1] This theory was advocated by Rendel Harris in the early part of the present century in his two successive volumes entitled Testimonies (Vol. I, 1916; Vol. II, 1920).

[2] F. C. Grant, The Gospel of Matthew ("Harper's Annoted Bible Series"; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), p. 9.

This, however, is not the only possibility of interpreting the meaning of the term "logia." Evidently, a distinction needs to be made between λόγια and λόγοι. The former is the plural of λόγιον, which is the diminutive form of the ordinary noun λόγος ("word"). In contrast with this ordinary word λόγος or its plural λόγοι ("words"), the Greek writers used λόγιον or λόγια to signify a brief utterance, and, more specifically, the sacred utterance of the Delphic or other "oracles." It was according to this reverential designation that Philo called the Ten Commandments τὰ δέκα λόγια ("the Deca-logue"). The New Testament writers employed the term λόγια in a similar manner, as, for example, in I Peter 4:11: "whoever speaks, as one who utters oracles of God (λόγια θεοῦ)."

This observation indicates the possibility of interpreting "logia" as "oracles," but not necessarily in the sense of testimonia. The early Christians were well aware of the fact that the common expression of the Septuagint for Yahweh's commandments was τὸ λόγιον[2] or τὰ λόγια.[3] Now that they began to possess the teachings of Jesus as a sort of "new Law" overriding the Mosaic commandments written in the Old Testament, it was both natural and logical for them to place the utterances of Jesus alongside the sacred "oracles" (in the sense of Yahweh's commandments) contained in the Old Testament. The sayings of Jesus thus came to be designated as τὰ λόγια, in distinction from the ordinary οἱ λόγοι. The "logia" of Papias, therefore, need not be identified with the so-called testimonia. Nor, on the other hand, can the distinctive character as "sacred oracles" be denied them.

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[1] Matt. 1:22-23; 2:5-6, 15, 17-18, 23; 4:14-16; 8:17; 12:17-21; 13:35; 21:4-5; 27:9.

[2] E.g., Ps. 119:67.

[3] E.g., Deut. 33:9; Ps. 119:158.

There is still one other theory that calls for attention at this juncture. Some scholars have advanced the view that by "logia" Papias meant what has come to be known as "Q." This abbreviation of German "Quelle" designates a hypothetical source that is rather generally considered to lie behind the canonical Gospels of Matthew and of Luke. This presumed lost document is supposed to have appeared originally in the Aramaic language. It is also considered to have consisted of the sayings of Jesus, possibly with only a very small amount of narrative material interspersed. Especially notable, in support of the "Q" theory, have been the detailed studies made by Adolf von Harnack, Sir John C. Hawkins, and Burnett Hillman Streeter, to mention only a few pioneers.[1]

When so defined, the "Q" source appears to meet all the conditions contained in the statement of Papias as referred to above, save one. This concerns the identity of the person who compiled the "logia." The question is: Was Matthew responsible for "Q"? This, however, can neither be proved nor disproved. Therefore, as long as there is no strong argument to the contrary, the name of

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[1] Hawkins, Horae Synopticae (Oxford, 1899); Harnack, Sprüche und Reden Jesu (1907; Eng. trans., 1908); Streeter, The Four Gospels: A Study in Origins (London: Macmillan & Co., 1924; repr. 1956), chaps. VII-XI.

Matthew might be assigned to this lost document, "Q." Thus, T. W. Manson, among others, expressed his opinion in favor of Matthaean editorship of "Q" as follows:

> If we wish to put an author's name on the title-page of Q, Matthew is the only candidate in the field: the tradition as we interpret it favours him, and there is nothing against the identification.[1]

Manson also seems to identify Q with the "logia" of Papias, as indicated by the following:

> The statement of Papias which cannot be made to fit the Gospel of Matthew except by a forced and unnatural interpretation, does, when taken in its simple and natural meaning, fit a document such as Q like a glove. For Q is a collection of Dominical oracles given for the guidance and encouragement of the New Israel. Just as to the Hebrew saints, whose piety found expression in the Psalter, 'the oracles' meant the commands and promises of God under the Old Covenant, so to the Church 'the oracles' meant the commands and promises of God under the New Covenant.[2]

Despite some objections that have been raised,[3] this position seems to cause least difficulties in interpreting the meaning of "logia" as spoken of by Papias. However, it must be admitted that, inasmuch as the allegedly lost document "Q" has not been recovered as yet, its identification with Papias' "logia" must remain a hypothesis which, by reason of insufficient evidence, cannot be "proved." Furthermore, to settle the matter in any way does not fall within the scope of this dissertation.

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[1] Manson, The Sayings of Jesus, Bk. II of The Mission and Message of Jesus, ed. H. D. A. Major, T. W. Manson, and C. J. Wright (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1938), p. 311.

[2] Ibid., p. 310

[3] Cf., e.g., G. D. Kilpatrick, The Origins of the Gospel According to St. Matthew (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 4; cf. also Bacon, op. cit., p. xii.

Suffice it to say here that it can now be affirmed beyond doubt that some sort of collection of the sayings or logia of Jesus was definitely known to Papias at the beginning of the second century. It also can be asserted that the earliest form of the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas may be traced to that same genre of early Christian literature, namely, the collection of logia spoken, or purporting to have been spoken, by Jesus.

In view of the fact that the "Q" hypothesis has been subjected to constant criticism, because of no documentary evidence to support it,[1] the discovery of the Coptic Thomas may be regarded as an event of considerable significance. In fact, it offers more in this quest than any other archaeological find. Up to the present moment it has been possible for New Testament critics to go no farther than make conjectures as to the supposed existence of such hypothetical lost collections of Jesus' sayings. Because of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, which is a collection of Jesus' logia, the door now appears to be opened for a fresh approach to the whole question concerning the existence of early Christian documents of the same kind.

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[1] E.g., B. C. Butler, The Originality of St. Matthew (1951), p. 170, stated that "Q" is "an unnecessary and vicious hypothesis"; cf. also A. M. Farrer, "On Dispensing With Q," Studies in the Gospels, ed. D. E. Nineham (1955), pp. 55-86.

CHAPTER III

THOMAS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS

The newly discovered Coptic Gospel of Thomas contains references to a person named "Thomas" at three different places. The first occurs in the opening sentence, which reads as follows:

> These are the secret words which the Living Jesus spoke and Didymos Judas Thomas wrote.
>
> Prologue (80.10-12)

The second is found in a logion which gives a series of conversations between Jesus and some of his disciples. It reads as follows:

> Jesus said to His disciples: Make a comparison to Me and tell Me whom I am like.
> Simon Peter said to Him: Thou art like a righteous angel.
> Matthew said to Him: Thou art like a wise man of understanding.
> Thomas said to Him: Master, my mouth will not at all be capable of saying whom Thou art like.
> Jesus said: I am not thy Master, because thou hast drunk, thou hast become drunk from the bubbling spring which I have measured out.
> And He took him, He withdrew, He spoke three words to him.
> Now when Thomas came to his companions, they asked him: What did Jesus say to thee?
> Thomas said to them: If I tell you one of the words which He said to me, you will take up stones and throw at me; and fire will come from the stones and burn you up.
>
> Logion 13 (82.30-83.14)

The third is the mention of the name in the colophon at the end of the book: "The Gospel According To Thomas."

This last reference, obviously, constitutes the title by which this writing has come to be designated. The question that demands an answer is: Who is this Thomas? The following pages in this chapter, therefore, will be devoted to a study of early Christian traditions, first, concerning the three different forms of the name of Thomas, and, secondly, concerning "Thomas" as a member of the trio, along with Philip and Matthew. Researches on this subject of "Thomas in early Christian traditions" seem of special importance since whatever conclusions may come out of such a study will certainly shed some useful light, at least in part, on the matter of the provenance of the Gospel of Thomas.

In the New Testament, references to Thomas, one of Jesus' twelve disciples, are found only in the four Gospels and Acts. The few passages in which Thomas is mentioned deserve serious consideration for two reasons: (1) Thomas' name sometimes occurs in an expanded form, "Thomas, called Didymos"; and (2) Thomas appears to be standing in somewhat close relationship with two other disciples of Jesus, Philip and Matthew.

The Synoptics and Acts both mention only the bare name of Thomas in their list of the twelve disciples of Jesus (Matthew 10:3; Mark 3:18; Luke 6:15; Acts 1:13). Beyond that, nothing is known from these passages. From the Fourth Gospel, however, one gets more information about Thomas. It is true that here, too, he is sometimes called merely "Thomas" (John 14:5; 20:26, 27, 28, 29). In three passages, however, he is designated specifically as "Thomas, called Didymos" (Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος; John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2). Obviously, a certain group of early Christians, who contributed to the formation of the Fourth Gospel, must have been fairly well acquainted with the use of such an expression.

To repeat the long recognized fact at this point, both "Thomas" and "Didymos" have the same meaning, "twin." "Thomas" is a Greek name derived from the Hebrew tᵉʼôm (תְּאֹם),[1] via the Aramaic tᵉʼômâ (תאמה), meaning "twin." Similarly, "Didymos" is the direct personalization of a Greek word didymos (δίδυμος), meaning "double." Or, one might say that "Thomas" is the transliteration, and "Didymos" the translation, of the same Hebrew-Aramaic word whose root is tʼm. Thus, for example, in the Revised Standard Version and the New English Bible the phrase is translated "Thomas, called 'the twin'," while in the King James and American Standard Versions it is rendered by "Thomas called Didymos." In either case, it is to be noted that "Didymos" is added to "Thomas" (which probably is the real name of the disciple) as a further element of designation.

Was Thomas really a twin? No historical evidences are available either for the affirmative or the negative. The fact that he was so designated in the Fourth Gospel seems to suggest an affirmative answer, though nothing is known as to who the other of these supposed twins might have been. At any rate, it is worth noticing that, toward the end of the first century of the Christian era, the phrase, "Thomas, called Didymos," seems to have been in relatively common use among Christians, at least in the region closely associated with the Fourth Gospel, i.e., Ephesus in Asia Minor.

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[1] Cf. "twins" in Gen. 25:24 (Esau and Jacob) and 38:27 (Perez and Zerah).

It may be argued that "Thomas, called Didymos" should be differentiated from "Thomas Didymos" or "Didymos Thomas." But nothing seems to prohibit the latter from being taken simply as a shortened form of the former. Thus, it may be inferred from the foregoing observation that, so far as evidence goes, the extended form of the disciple's name, with additional elements, almost certainly belonged to the Western tradition in early Christianity.

In parallel with the rise of Thomas' name in the form just mentioned, there apparently was in the East another line of development with regard to the way in which the same disciple came to be designated. This is the tradition which unites the name of Thomas with that of "Judas," thereby providing a peculiar form, "Judas Thomas." This development was evidently taking place in a geographical area different from that with which the "Thomas-Didymos" tradition was presumably connected. Before an attempt is made to see how such a combination came to be achieved, however, it is necessary to examine some of the New Testament passages in which the name "Judas" occurs.

There are in the New Testament about half a dozen references to the person whose name is known as "Judas." Some of them are described more precisely than others by means of some additional qualifications, such as: "Judas of Galilee" (Acts 5:37), "Judas Iscariot" (Mark 3:19; etc.), "Judas the son of James" (Luke 6:16; Acts 1:13), and "Judas Barsabbas" (Acts 15:32). Others are mentioned simply as "Judas" (Matthew 13:55; Mark 6:3; Acts 9:11).

For the purpose of the present study, two of these are of special importance. One is the "Judas" listed among Jesus' twelve disciples as reported by Luke (6:16) and Acts (1:13). In these lists this disciple is also referred to as "the son of James." This alternate designation, however, does not occur in the lists of Matthew and Mark.[1] It is very likely that this disciple is the same as the one whom the Fourth Gospel mentions as "Judas (not Iscariot)" (Ἰούδας, οὐχ ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης; John 14:22).

The other is the "Judas" referred to as one of the brothers of Jesus (Matthew 13:55; Mark 6:3). He was not among the followers of Jesus during his ministry.[2] Therefore he cannot be identified with "Judas the son of James" just mentioned.

In the course of time, however, two things seem to have happened to these two "Judases." First, "Judas the brother of Jesus" and "Judas the son of James" came to be mistaken for each other, as a result of the mere coincidence that both had the same name. Secondly, the "Judas" thus mistaken further became confused with "Thomas." Here, the original meaning of the name "Thomas" as "twin," and the canonical information on Jesus having a brother called "Judas," may have worked together to bring about such confusion.

Presumably in this way, three persons, Thomas and the two

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[1] In Matt. 10:3 and Mark 3:18 "Judas" is replaced by "Thaddaeus." Significantly, there are some variant readings in Matt. for Thaddaeus (ℵ B C vg sa bo), namely, "Lebbaeus" (D), "Lebbaeus called Thaddaeus" (W Θ λ ℜ sy^{p}), "Thaddaeus called Lebbaeus" (φ), "Judas Zelotes" (it), while it is omitted in sy^{s}. Probably "Judas" in Luke-Acts was the true name of the disciple in question. The change in Matthew-Mark was made presumably in order to avoid confusion with "Judas Iscariot."

[2] In Mark 3:21 οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ ("those with him") may better be taken to mean "his relatives" or "his family" (so in NEB), rather than "his friends" (as in RSV and KJV).

Judases, who were originally three separate individuals, became hopelessly mixed up with one another. As a result of this accidental confusion and false identification, there was created an entirely new figure. He was now thought of as the "twin" brother of Jesus, and, at the same time, as one of his disciples. Consequently, he was called at one time "Judas," at another "Thomas," at still another "Judas Thomas."

Evidence of development in this direction is supplied by the two variant readings on the Johannine passage in which "Judas (not Iscariot)" is mentioned. The fourth or fifth century Syriac manuscript, known as the "Sinaitic" (sy^s), reads "Thomas" for "Judas (not Iscariot)" in this place. Furthermore, another Syriac manuscript from the fifth century, the so-called "Curetonian" (sy^c), gives the reading "Judas Thomas" instead of "Judas (not Iscariot)."

These variants undoubtedly offer **some** evidence that this development in tradition regarding the name and figure of Thomas must have taken place in a geographical area where the Syriac version of the New Testament was in great demand.

This supposition is further supported by some passages from extra-canonical and patristic writings in which the names of "Judas" and "Thomas" are used interchangeably or in which the single designation "Judas Thomas" occurs. The first of such passages to be considered is taken from the apocryphal Acts of Thomas, a third-century Syriac document written in Edessa in northeastern Syria. This writing has been familiar to students of the New Testament Apocrypha since the early part of the nineteenth century when the earliest work on this book was published by J. C. Thilo.[1] The Acts of Thomas has been transmitted in various versions of several different languages: Syriac, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopic.

The matter of the original language of this document has an important bearing upon the present study of the name "Judas Thomas." M. R. James, following M. Bonnet, maintains that the document was originally written in Greek. Out of this, according to his theory, was made a Syriac translation. Meanwhile, the Greek original became lost. The Syriac version, then, was re-translated back into Greek.[2]

This theory, however, has been rejected most recently by A. F. J. Klijn. He insists that, because of some strong evidence of "Syriasms," all the extant versions of the Acts of Thomas ultimately "go back to the Syriac."[3] He is in agreement with most Syriacists today, who hold that the Acts of Thomas was originally written in Syriac.[4]

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[1] Thilo, Acta S. Thomae Apostoli (Leipzig, 1823).

[2] James, The Apocryphal New Testament (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924; repr. 1955), p. 364, adopts the text of the Acts of Thomas which was "made from the Greek text (Bonnet, 1903) with an eye on the Syriac as rendered by Wright and by Mrs. Lewis and Bevan"; cf. M. Bonnet (ed.), Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae accedunt Acta Barnabae, Part II, Vol. II of Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ed. R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (2 vols., 1891-1903).

[3] Klijn, The Acts of Thomas ("Supplements to Novum Testamentum," Vol. V; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), pp. 6-7. His study is based on the Syriac text edited and translated from the "British Museum MSS" by W. Wright, Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles (2 vols.; London-Edinburgh, 1871).

[4] So, e.g., K. Macke, "Syrische Lieder gnostischen Ursprungs. Eine Studie über die apokryphen syrischen Thomasakten," Theologische Quartalschrift, LVI (1874), pp. 3-70; F. C. Burkitt, "The

Now, the Syriac text of the Acts of Thomas is available in several manuscripts. Of these, the so-called "Sachau Manuscript"[1] uses the name "Thomas." However, this manuscript is generally considered to be secondary to the "British Museum Manuscript." In this latter, according to Klijn, the name of the apostle was originally written "Judas," but a later Greek hand changed it into "Thomas," and also expanded it further.[2] Thus, in the Greek Acts of Thomas, one finds the name "Thomas" being circumscribed by the additional phrase, "the apostle." Moreover, where the Syriac has "Judas," the Greek frequently reads Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς ("Judas, who is also [called] Thomas").[3] This Greek reading seems to match "Judas Thomas" in the Syriac Acts of Thomas, Chapter 1, but here the Greek has an even more elaborate form, Ἰούδας Θωμᾶς ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος ("Judas Thomas, who is also [called] Didymos"). It is important to bear in mind that this highly developed form of Thomas' name, consisting of three elements (Judas, Thomas, and Didymos), is found only in the first chapter of the Greek Acts of Thomas. The fact that it does not occur in the Syriac Acts of Thomas (which is presumed to be earlier than the Greek) seems to suggest that

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Original Language of the Acts of Judas Thomas," Journal of Theological Studies, I (1900), pp. 280-90; idem, "Another Indication of the Syriac origin of the Acts of Thomas," Journal of Theological Studies, III (1902), pp. 94-96; R. H. Connolley, "A Negative Golden Rule in the Syriac Acts of Thomas," Journal of Theological Studies, XXXVI (1935), pp. 353-57; so also W. Wright, Th. Noldeke, A. Harnack, E. Preuschen, P. Devos, and others.

[1] P. Bedjan (ed.), Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, III (Paris, 1892).

[2] Klijn, op. cit., pp. 158-59.

[3] The Greek Acts of Thomas, chaps. 11, 20, 21, et passim.

the Syrian tradition (particularly that of the Edessa area) probably did not originally include "Didymos," the third element in the triple form of the name of Thomas.

Thus it appears that the traditional Syrian name for the apostle Thomas was either "Judas" or "Judas Thomas," as found in the Syriac version of the Acts of Thomas. Apart from complicated problems of the mutual relationship between different manuscripts and versions of the Acts of Thomas, it seems quite evident that, so far as the name and designation of the apostle Thomas is concerned, the Syriac and the Greek versions reflect different atmospheres, possibly representing two separate geographical areas. At this moment, the investigator's attention should be directed to the kind of early Christian tradition represented by the Syriac, not the Greek, Acts of Thomas.

The next question is: What kind of role was the apostle Thomas supposed to play according to the Syrian tradition? Again, the Acts of Thomas seems to provide a clue to the understanding of this problem. A few passages, therefore, may be cited here from the Syriac Acts of Thomas as presented by Klijn.

In Chapter 39, Thomas is reported to be having a conversation with an ass's colt. Answering him, the colt opened its mouth and "spake like a man by the power of our Lord," saying:

> Twin of the Messiah, and Apostle of the Most High, and sharer in the hidden word of the Life-giver, and receiver of the secret mysteries of the Son of God; . . .

Here the animal is telling who Thomas really is: he is the "twin" of Christ as well as "the apostle." Moreover, he is given assurance that he is the participant in the divine mysteries and the receiver of the "secrets" of Christ. This appears indicative of the possible existence of some connection between this writing and the Prologue to the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_, according to which Jesus is said to be speaking the "secret words," with Thomas serving as the recorder of them.

The special capacity of Thomas as a pre-eminent confidant of Jesus is again asserted in Chapter 47 of the Syriac _Acts of Thomas_:

> And the Apostle [Thomas] began to say: Jesus, hidden mystery, that has been revealed to me, Thou hast revealed Thy mysteries unto me more than to all my fellows, and hast spoken unto me words with which, lo, I am burning, but which I am not able to utter. . . .

Thomas is here regarded as the most important of all the apostles. The words of Jesus spoken to him, with which he is burning but which he is "not able to utter," appear to carry some reminiscence of Logion 13 in the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_ quoted earlier.[1]

In Chapter 78 of the _Acts of Thomas_, a wild ass encourages Thomas to go and miraculously heal a woman, by assuring him, among other things, that he is the custodian of Christ's "hidden nature." It reads in part as follows:

> The wild ass . . . said to Judas: "Why standest thou (there) and art idle, Apostle of the Most High? For lo, the _Paraclete_ is standing beside thee and looking that thou shouldest ask him and he would give unto thee. Why delayest thou, good Disciple? For lo, thy Master wisheth to show great things through thee. Why standest thou (there), preacher of the _Hidden_? For lo, Thy Master wisheth _to disclose His hidden nature_ through thee unto those who are _worthy_ to Him that they may hear these things. Why art thou still, worker of miracles in the name of Thy Lord? For lo, _thy Lord is standing by and encouraging thee_. . . . " (Italics Klijn's.)

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[1] Klijn rightly suggests that this passage in the _Acts_ may "go back to the _Gospel of Thomas_" (_op. cit_., p. 240).

The foregoing examination of the Acts of Thomas, especially as it has been transmitted in Syriac, reveals two things in particular: (1) this document testifies to the interchangeability between the two names, "Judas" and "Thomas," and also to the combination of both, resulting in a new double form, "Judas Thomas"; and (2) this document recognizes this person as the bearer of Christ's special revelation and as the custodian of His mysteries. Because the Acts of Thomas are believed to have been composed in Edessa sometime during the first half of the third century, it is to be inferred that these developments in Thomas' name and capacity must uniquely have belonged to the Syrian Christian tradition, particularly as it was developed in Edessa and its vicinity.[1]

Besides the Acts of Thomas, other writings of Christian antiquity also appear to bear witness to such developments in early Christian tradition, especially in reference to Thomas. Eusebius, for example, points to the same Syrian tradition, when he drew some of the materials for his famous Church History from the archives at Edessa. He describes how, after Jesus' ascension, Thaddaeus was sent by Thomas to cure the disease of Abgar V Uchama, King of Edessa (4 B.C.-A.D. 50). Immediately following his quotation, from the archive at Edessa, of letters presumably exchanged between the king and Jesus,[2] Eusebius writes these words:

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[1] For the latest discussion on the Acts of Thomas, see G. Bornkamm's article in Hennecke, Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung (3., vollig neubearbeitete Auflage hrsg. von Wilhelm Schnaemelcher; II. Band: Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes; Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1964; hereafter referred to as:Hennecke-Schneemelcher II), pp. 297-372, which includes a German translation of the "Greek" Acts of Thomas.

[2] Eusebius Hist. eccl. i. 13. 5-10. For the so-called "Abgar

> Now after the ascension of Jesus, Judas, who is also Thomas ('Ιούδας, ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς), sent Thaddaeus to him as an apostle, being one of the Seventy, . . .[1]

Obviously, Eusebius is here still quoting from the same source, the archives in Edessa. From these words, therefore, it can readily be seen that in that city, or in its vicinity, "Judas" and "Thomas" had been regarded as identical with one another. Thus, there should be no serious doubt as to what particular geographical locality ought to be assigned to the "Judas-Thomas" tradition. It is indeed very difficult to think of any city or region as the birthplace of this tradition other than Edessa in Syria.

The same combination of "Judas" and "Thomas" is also attested by the Doctrine of Addai, a Syriac writing composed in Edessa about A.D. 400,[2] as well as by the Syrian Biblical exegete, Ephrem (or, St. Ephraem Syrus, 306?-373), who resided in Edessa.[3]

Finally, attention should be directed to one of the newly discovered Nag Hammadi writings. This is the Book of Thomas the Athlete, contained in Codex III together with the Gospels of Thomas and of Philip. Because of the absence of any published text, no

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Legend," see W. Bauer's article in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 437-44.

[1] Eusebius Hist. eccl. i. 13. 11.

[2] Cf. G. Phillips, The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle (London, 1876). In this writing, the material already known from Eusebius, as referred to above, again appears: an account of how King Abgar was brought into contact with Jesus, and how Addai (=Thaddaeus) was sent to Edessa to cure and convert the king. Cf. also Johannes Quasten, Patrology, Vol. I (Utrecht: Spectrum Publishers, 1950; repr. 1962), pp. 140-43.

[3] Ephrem de Fide vii. 11. The text of this document has been edited and translated by E. Beck, Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Fide ("Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium," 154 and 155; Louvain, 1955).

final judgment on the nature and content of this document is as yet possible. Thus, up to this day, Jean Doresse still remains the chief source of information on this book. According to what he reports, the Book of Thomas the Athlete begins with the following words:

> Secret sayings that the Saviour told to Jude-Thomas, and that I myself have written, I, Matthew (=Matthias), who . . . heard them while these two were in conversation. The Saviour, brother of Thomas, said to him . . . Listen; I will tell thee the thought that is in thy heart, how they say that thou art in truth my twin brother and my companion, and thou knowest who thou art and in what manner thou wast born, and in what manner thou wilt become, as they call thee, my brother.[1]

It is significant to note that Thomas is here declared three times to be the "twin brother" of the Savior. Furthermore, he is clearly designated as "Jude (=Judas)-Thomas." These are in perfect harmony with what has been pointed out with regard to the identification of Thomas with Judas, together with his unique role as the sole receiver and mediator of Jesus' "secrets."

Thus far it has been discussed that the special tradition concerning the name and role of Thomas, in all probability, had a definite connection with the city of Edessa. Although a detailed study of Christian origins in that city does not fall within the range of this dissertation, it seems appropriate briefly to refer to the Christian situation there up to the middle of the second century.

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[1] Doresse, p. 225. It may be noted that Doresse here suggests to read "Matthias" for "Matthew," By so doing, he identifies this document with the Gospel of Matthias, a heretical work mentioned by Eusebius (Hist. eccl. iii. 25. 6) and Origen (Luc. hom I), which may or may not be identical with the Traditions of Matthias referred to by Clement of Alexandria (Stromateis ii. 9. 45; iii. 4. 26; vii. 13. 82). For Puech's criticism of Doresse's theory, see Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 312-13. Although nothing is known of the place of composition of the Book of Thomas the Athlete to the present moment, the way it describes the name and role of the

Edessa, the modern Urfa, is located on the east side of the Euphrates, enclosed in its great western bend. A trading center of great importance, it also occupied a significant position as a seat of Greek culture. A few miles to the north on the west bank of the river lay Samosata. It was from this city that the Dialogues of the famous Greek prose writer, Lucian (115?-200?), came in the second half of the second century. Farther east, across the Tigris, lay Nisibis, which was still more renowned in ancient history. Between Nisibis and Edessa stretched the broad and fertile plain of Adiabene, ruled since A.D. 40 by a royal house converted to Judaism.[1] Since the time of Trajan (A.D. 98-117), a trade-route connected the Parthian Empire with Antioch in the Roman province of Syria, traversing the plain of Adiabene.

The language condition in Edessa was bilingual. In the preface to his Jewish War (written 77-78), Flavius Josephus (37?-100?) reveals that he originally wrote it in his "vernacular tongue" (i.e. Aramaic) for the benefit of the multitudes of his fellow countrymen dwelling in Parthia, Babylonia, Arabia, Adiabene, and "beyond the Euphrates."[2] In these areas Greek was the dominating language.

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apostle Thomas seems to suggest that it probably originated from the same milieu to which the Acts of Thomas belonged.

[1] Adiabene became Jewish in faith under Izates (40-64); cf. Josephus Antiquities of the Jews xx. 2-4, 17ff. Claudius (41-54) was the Roman Emperor at that time; cf. Hans Lietzmann, A History of the Early Church, Vol. II: The Founding of the Church Universal, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf ("Meridian Books"; Cleveland, Ohio: The World Publishing Co., 1961), p. 266.

[2] Josephus The Jewish War i. 2; trans. H. St. J. Thakeray ("The Loeb Classical Library"; Josephus, Vol. II; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1927), pp. 4-5.

However, the submerged speech was the Aramaic of the whole Semitic world.[1] Thus, Edessa, metropolis of the district of Osrhoene, was one of the typical centers of Grecized Semitic culture.

The question as to when and how Edessa first came into contact with Christianity has been the subject of much dispute among scholars. Walter Bauer published a book on the subtle problem of "Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity" some thirty years ago. Having discussed the Christian history of Edessa in the first chapter of this book, Bauer reached the conclusion that the character of Christianity in the earliest days at Edessa was determined by Marcion (died 160?), Bardesanes (Bar-Daisan; 154-222), and Manes (215?-275). He also expressed his opinion that the first Christians in that city were "Marcionites."[2] The present writer, however, suggests that attention should now be directed specifically to the earlier part of Edessa's Christian history prior to the time of Marcion and other pioneers mentioned by Bauer.

It is unfortunate that the earliest beginnings of Edessene Christianity, evidently, are lost. They seem to have left no traces beyond the so-called "Abgar Legend." As mentioned earlier, Eusebius has preserved two letters that were allegedly exchanged between Edessa's King Abgar V Uchama ("the Black") and Jesus. This communication presumably was followed by the king's conversion as a result of the miraculous healing of his illness by Addai (=Thaddaeus), who was supposedly "one of the Seventy."[1]

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[1] Bacon, op. cit., p. 15.

[2] Walter Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum ("Beiträge zur historischen Theologie," 10; Zweite Auflage mit eines Nachtrag von Georg Strecker; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1964), pp. 6-48.

The authenticity of these letters, which Eusebius relates he translated from the Syriac,[2] seems difficult to maintain. As Harnack observed long ago, the "Legend" may be regarded as "a naive romance,"[3] which was intended to trace the origin of Christianity in Edessa back to the spostolic age. Yet, the early beginning of the new religion in that city cannot lightly be dismissed, especially in light of what has just been pointed out with respect to race, religion, and language, among the people residing in the region in question. Nothing seems to have prevented Christianity from reaching the residents of Edessa and being accepted by them, particularly after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. One of the leading authorities on Syriac literature, F. C. Burkitt, stated as follows:

> We cannot doubt that many of the survivors of the catastrophe (of the year 70 A.D.) lost their nationality and became merged with the Gentiles. Very likely many became Christians: it is difficult, for instance, to explain certain features in the rise of Christianity in Edessa, except on the supposition that the original congregation was largely composed of converted Jews.[4]

The original first-century planting of Christianity in Edessa thus still remains a great possibility. Christianity, in all likelihood, found a foothold among a Jewish population there, who had been under Greek culture, language, and institutions, and therefore accustomed to use Greek even for its synagogue services. Bacon, who thinks that the canonical Gospel of Matthew originated in Edessa, concluded thus:

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[1] Eusebius Hist. eccl. i. 13. 11; also i. 12. 3; cf. Luke 10: 1. Eusebius closes his account of the "Abgar Legend" by stating: "These things were done in the 340th year" (ibid. i. 13. 22). This date would be A.D. 28 or 29 (Bauer), or 30 (Lake), since the Edessene era began 310 B.C.

[2] Eusebius Hist. eccl. i. 13. 5.

[3] Adolf Harnack, The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, trans. and ed. James Moffatt ("Harper Torchbooks: The Cloister Library," New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962), p. 102, n. 1; also p. 71, n. 2, and p. 90, n. 1.

[4] Francis Crawford Burkitt, The Gospel History and Its Trans-

> Next to Antioch Edessa was perhaps the oldest seat of Christianity in northern Syria. The Jewish population of the region offered an inviting mission field for evangelists from the western seaport and was doubtless largely Greek-speaking.[1]

Furthermore, among those cultured cities of Euphratean Syria, Edessa's fame was enhanced by its claim to possess, from A.D. 394 onward, the relics of the apostle Thomas. According to an early tradition mentioned by Eusebius, Thomas evangelized the Parthians.[2] According to another tradition derived from the Acts of Thomas, he brought the Gospel to India, where he was martyred. The Syrian Christians of Malabar in southwestern India, who are also known as "Thomas Christians," have a tradition that the apostle Thomas landed on the coast in the district of Travancore and Cochin, and crossed to Madras. These "Christians of St. Thomas" trace their origin to the apostle Thomas, who, after his martyrdom, was buried at Mylapore near Madras.[3] The "Thomas Cross," an ancient stone cross probably dating from the seventh century, with a problematic Pahlavi inscription,[4] is preserved in the church which is said to mark the place where his body rested before it was

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mission (1906; 3rd ed., 1911), p. 172, quoted in Bacon, op. cit., p. 164.

[1] Bacon, op. cit., p. 498.

[2] Eusebius Hist. eccl. iii. 1. 1.

[3] Cf. L. W. Brown, The Indian Christians of St. Thomas (1956).

[4] Pahlavi is a middle Iranian language of Indo-Iranian subfamily of Indo-European languages, used in the Middle Ages.

moved to Edessa in the fourth century.

Because of this unusual tradition concerning the apostle Thomas, "crowds of pilgrims," according to Doresse, "come to venerate his supposed tomb at Edessa--almost as many as for Jerusalem."[1] The city of Edessa became the center of a special tradition which no other community in the ancient Christian world ever came to possess, so far as the apostle Thomas was concerned. Edessa was indeed a "mysterious and powerful city, which for long claimed to guard the body of the Apostle in the splendid sepulchre it had raised for him."[2]

Thus, the strong Jewish background of the people in Edessa, the probable first-century beginning of Christianity among them, the specific tradition cherished in that city concerning the apostle Thomas--all these seem to have an important bearing upon the present study of the literary development of the Gospel of Thomas that is now available in a Coptic dress.

Returning to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, the name of Thomas occurs at three different places, as observed earlier. It appears in Logion 13 and the colophon without additional elements. In the Prologue, however, it assumes a strange form which is different from either of the two examined in the previous pages. It is a triple name, "Didymos Judas Thomas," in distinction from the two double ones, i.e., "Thomas Didymos" and "Judas Thomas."

This more elaborate triple form appears to represent a highly developed stage of early Christian tradition concerning Thomas. Evidently, it cannot easily be assigned to either one of the two geographical areas with which the two respective earlier double designations are believed to have been associated, namely, Ephesus and Edessa. For a locality in which the elaborate triple form could have come into existence, one must postulate an area in which there was little or nothing in the way of established local tradition, supporting more simple names, that would inhibit the piling up of such a complexity of terms. The triple form of the name thus probably arose in a region where the two traditions--"western" and "eastern"--were brought together and mixed with each other so as to produce something new.

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[1] Doresse, p. 339.

[2] Ibid., p. 340.

As one contribution of this study, the present writer desires to suggest that Alexandria in Egypt be brought into focus at this point. This great city seems to deserve special attention. As the capital city of Egypt through the Hellenistic and Roman periods,it was the most important metropolis in the Graeco-Roman world, next only to Rome. For centuries, following the founding of Alexandria by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C., it enjoyed the honor and glory of being the center of Hellenistic culture, imperial government, polytheistic religion, world-wide commerce, and local industry. This pre-eminence continued for several centuries into Christian times. Intellectual activities were phenomenal in this city, centering around such great institutions as the university (construed in the ancient sense as a center of knowledge) of Hellenistic culture which flourished through its schools and libraries.

A large concentration of diaspora Jews resided in Alexandria. This made it necessary to translate the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek of their period and place. Known as the "Septuagint" (or "LXX"), this Greek version was virtually completed by the end of the second century B.C. The early Christian Church adopted it, and New Testament writers commonly quoted Old Testament passages from it. The Christian Fathers, down to the later fourth century, almost all considered the Septuagint as the standard form of the Old Testament.

Many Jewish religio-philosophical thinkers were active in that city. Philo Judaeus (20 B.C.?-A.D. 50?) was the most remarkable and eloquent of this group. An eclectic in essence, he gathered various doctrines and teachings from contemporary philosophical systems as well as from Jewish sources. Greek and Jewish elements were thus interwoven by him, but never welded into a harmonious whole. His "allegorical" interpretation of Scripture became an accepted form of Biblical exegesis in the Christian Church through Clement of Alexandria (150?-215?), Origen (185?-254?), Ambrose (339?-397), and other Latin Fathers.

It is a matter for great regret that even now there is practically no information available about the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt. The earliest available information about orthodox Alexandrian Christianity comes from the end of the second century. By that time there was a large and virile church, but nothing is known of its earlier history. This means that even today there continues to exist among scholars a gap in knowledge of more than a century. This gap cannot sufficiently be filled up by a tradition that Mark founded the Church in Alexandria or by a series of the names of bishops in that city, as referred to by Eusebius.[1] Hans Lietzmann thinks that it is possible to suppose, on the basis of records of a later time, that Alexandria received its Christianity from Rome.[2] How early this took place, however, is not known.

Various attempts have been made to explain why this total absence of information came to exist. One such, developed by Walter Bauer,[3] focuses attention upon the nature of Christianity at the earliest period in Egypt. The assumption is that early Christianity there was such that later generations regarded it as too far removed from the main stream of the Church's beliefs. Therefore, they felt the need of ignoring it. The Christian situation in that part of the Mediterranean world, during the period immediately after the introduction of Christianity into Egypt, may thus be best described by the term "heretical." This characterization has been thought, by such scholars, to describe most of the second century. Lietzmann seems to be content with this view, and expressed his opinion in the following words:

> In fact, we must admit that all the notices about Christians in Egypt during the first three-quarters of the second century have to do with heretics.[4]

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[1] Eusebius Hist. eccl. ii. 24; iii. 14, 21; iv. 1, 4, 5.5, 11.6, 19; v. 9.

[2] Lietzmann, A History of the Early Church, Vol. I: The Beginnings of the Christian Church, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf ("Meridian Books"; Cleveland, Ohio: The World Publishing Co., 1961), p. 133.

[3] Bauer, op. cit., pp. 49-64.

[4] Lietzmann, History, Vol. II, p. 275.

The notion of "heresy," however, must be subjected to close scrutiny, especially when applied to the first hundred years of the Church's history. The general picture of the Church in those days may be characterized better by the variety of thought that resulted from rapid geographical extension of its horizon. The Abbé Bardy illustrated this situation as follows:

> The writers of Rome are distinguished from the others by their practical spirit, by their sense of responsibility, by the firmness of their moral concern. The Egyptians, more idealistic, attempt vast syntheses; they try to explain the world, or at least to give general pictures of Christian teaching. The Asiatics hold above all to the transmission of the tradition they have received from the apostles, and struggle with an invincible firmness against heresies. Finally the Syrians and the Palestinians usually become chroniclers or historians, unless they draw up codes of liturgy or morals.[1]

Apart from details that may require further clarification of this statement, it generally has been agreed that no uniform picture can be obtained with regard to the overall nature of Christianity in Egypt during the second half of the first century and the first half of the second. Precisely for this reason, it is impossible to draw a sharp line of distinction between what was "orthodox" and what was "heretical."

Be that as it may, the total lack of information about the beginnings of Egyptian Christianity seems best explained by pointing out that the nature of beliefs held among the earliest adherents of that religion was somewhat different from what was later called "orthodox." That presumably is why no historian or writer of a later age wished to mention anything about the course of events at the earliest stage in its development.

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[1] G. Bardy, Littérature grècque chrétienne, p. 26, quoted in Robert M. Grant, Second-Century Christianity: A Collection of Fragments (London: S. P. C. K., 1946), pp. 10-11.

As a result, the official history of mainline Christianity in Egypt remains uncertain until Bishop Demetrius (A.D. 189-231)[1] and Clement of Alexandria (150?-215?)[2] appeared on the scene. Prior to that, however, there apparently were already a few outstanding Christian leaders in that region. Perhaps the first and most important of these was Basilides. Probably of Syrian origin, he taught in Alexandria during the reign of Hadrian (117-135). He was the first Egyptian Christian, of whose writings some fragments have been preserved. These are found chiefly in the works of Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, and Hippolytus.[3]

According to the Pseudo-Tertullian Against All Heresies, possibly written by Hippolytus, Basilides taught that Christ came as a phantom without the substance of flesh. "He did not suffer among the Jews, but in his place Simon was crucified--therefore none ought to believe in him 'who was crucified,' lest he confess his belief in Simon."[4] Basilides' teachings are given by Quasten in the form of a summary as follows:

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[1] Eusebius Hist. eccl. vi. 2, 3, 8, 19, 26. Demetrius is known for his support of Origen, whom he appointed to the headship of the famous Catechetical School in Alexandria ca. 203.

[2] Eusebius Hist. eccl. vi. 6. Clement was the teacher of Origen. Among Clement's chief writings is a book called "Stromateis" or "Miscellaneous Studies" (printed in PG VIII-IX).

[3] Irenaeus Adv. haer. i. 24. 1-4; Clement of Alexandria Stromateis iv. 12. 81. 1 to 88. 5; Hippolytus Refutatio vii. 20-27.

[4] The text of this document is found in PL II. 61-74. This quotation is taken from Grant, Second-Century Christianity, p. 127. Grant thinks this document is actually the Latin epitome of the lost work of Hippolytus called Syntagma (A.D. 200-210), which preceded his extant and later work, the Refutatio omnium haeresium (Refutation of All Heresies, or Philosophoumena, or Elenchos; written ca. 230).

> 1. Knowledge (Gnosis) delivers from the principalities which form the world.
> 2. Only a few, one in a thousand, two in ten thousand, are able to possess the true knowledge.
> 3. Mysteries should be kept secret.
> 4. Martyrdom is futile.
> 5. Redemption affects only the souls, and not the body, which is subject to corruption.
> 6. Every action, even the most heinous sins of lust, is a matter of perfect indifference.
> 7. The Christian should not confess Christ the crucified but Jesus, who was sent by the Father. Otherwise he remains a slave and under the power of those who formed our bodies.
> 8. Pagan sacrifices ought to be despised, but can be used without any scruple because they are nothing.[1]

Although no wholly consistent summary of Basilides' teaching is possible, as the above-mentioned patristic writers differ among themselves, one can see why he came to be classified among the so-called "Gnostics" of the second century.[2] This conclusion obviously has led historians to the belief that the earliest Christians in Egypt were actually "Gnostics." Lietzmann, for example, expressed his view in this direction as follows:

> In Egypt--similarly to Syria--Christianity took root at first in gnostic forms, and . . . the church catholic was victorious in this region only at a late date, and after a severe struggle with gnosticism.[3]

From the few passages in the New Testament where the name "Alexandria" is mentioned (Acts 6:9; 18:24; 27:6; 28:11), it may be assumed that Egypt had been enjoying the liveliest intercourse with the East and Rome, even before Christianity began to penetrate those regions. During the twilight period, at the dawn of the history of the Christian Church in Egypt, Alexandria appears to have been able to keep its church relatively free from the influence of the Church in Rome, as well as that of the East. At the same time, it presumably drew freely upon those areas. Thus, Alexandria seems to have occupied one of the best locations in the entire Mediterranean world, both from the standpoint of geography and of access to Christian traditions. It can readily be seen how that city was ideally situated to serve as a melting pot.

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[1] Quasten, Patrology, Vol. I, pp. 258-59. This summary of Basilides' teachings is based on the information provided by Irenaeus. A somewhat different picture of Basilidian doctrine is given by Hippolytus.

[2] For a detailed study of the Basilidian system, see Hans Leisegang, Die Gnosis (4. Aufl.; Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1955), pp. 196-256.

[3] Lietzmann, History, Vol. II, p. 276.

How does all this apply to the specific problem of the name of Thomas as it occurs in the Prologue to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas? Sometime toward the end of the first century, or in the early part of the second century, the "Thomas Didymos" of the "western" tradition and the "Judas Thomas" of the "eastern" tradition apparently reached the city of Alexandria. Possibly having arrived there independently of one another, these two names passed into the hands of someone or a group of people, who, for as yet undeterminable reasons, had much interest in the person of Thomas, especially as he was now presented in two different forms of designation. At any rate, those two traditions apparently were put together, intermingled with each other, and finally became transformed into a new name, "Didymos Judas Thomas."

The unusual character of this newly invented triple name, however, does not seem to have been given by scholars proper attention it deserves. Puech, for example, stated as follows:

> In particular, the spocryphal Acts of Thomas frequently bestow on their hero the name Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς, and even, in the first chapter (p. 100. 4f. Bonnet), exactly as in the prologue to our gospel [i.e., the Coptic Gospel of Thomas], that of Ἰούδας Θωμᾶς ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος.[1]

As already pointed out, however, this elaborate triple name occurs only once in the opening chapter of the "Greek" *Acts of Thomas*. Since the *Acts of Thomas* probably was written originally in Syriac, it seems that this triple form of Thomas' name did not originally belong to the *Acts of Thomas*. The fact that in the first chapter of the Syriac *Acts of Thomas* occurs "Judas Thomas," in the place of the Greek designation, "Judas Thomas who is also Didymos," provides further support for that conclusion. Thus it appears that the *Acts of Thomas* probably took a course of literary development similar to that of the *Gospel of Thomas*, in the way of assuming the unusual triple name, "Didymos Judas Thomas." In view of what has been discussed in the foregoing pages, it is highly questionable if one can really assert that the name "Didymos Judas Thomas" in the Prologue to the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* is "an expression paralleled in other Syrian documents such as the *Acts of Thomas*."[2] Rather, this triple name, as suggested previously, demands to be understood as an artificial product which was brought into existence as a result of mixing up the two distinct early Christian traditions concerning Thomas, originating from Ephesus and Edessa respectively.

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[1] Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 286.

[2] H. E. W. Turner, "The Gospel of Thomas: Its History, Transmission and Sources," in H. Montefiore and Turner, *Thomas and the Evangelists* ("Studies in Biblical Theology," No. 35; London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 12.

By way of concluding the preceding discussions, two items of significant value for studying the Coptic Gospel of Thomas may now be presented. First, the triple name, "Didymos Judas Thomas," in all probability, is of Alexandrian origin. It must, however, be added at once that the question of the provenance of the Gospel of Thomas as a whole is by no means hereby answered. Secondly, a collection of Jesus' logia, which had been in circulation under the name of Thomas, at one stage or another of its geographical movement and literary development, reached the city of Alexandria.

Whence did this logia-collection come to the provincial capital of Egypt? How long did it remain there? Whither did it subsequently go? Did it receive any alteration or modification while there? These are some of the problems that need to be borne in mind as the present study of the literary development of the Gospel of Thomas progresses in the subsequent chapters.

* * *

There is another important issue that should be discussed in connection with the early Christian traditions concerning Thomas. It concerns the fact that in some extra-canonical writings Thomas' name is found closely associated with those of two other disciples of Jesus, Philip and Matthew. Moreover, it seems more than mere coincidence that one of the thirteen codices from Nag Hammadi, i.e., Codex III, contains three writings which bear the names of these three disciples respectively: the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, and the Book of Thomas the Athlete. The last-mentioned work, which has been referred to, purports to have been written by Matthew, according to the opening paragraph as reported by Doresse.

Admittedly, the New Testament contains no explicit passages in which these three names occur in such close relationship with each other as in some of the apocryphal books. Yet it does seem to suggest that Thomas was regarded as standing close to one or the other, if not both at the same time, of his two fellow disciples just mentioned.

First, there are at least two places in the New Testament where Thomas and Philip are particularly closely bound up together. In the fourteenth chapter of the Gospel of John where the so-called "Farewell Discourses" of Jesus are recorded, a prominent role seems to be given to these two disciples. Thomas' question, "Lord, we do not know where you are going; how can we know the way?" leads to the well known words of Jesus: "I am the way, and the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me" (John 14:5-6). Immediately following this, Philip made a request to Jesus by asking: "Lord, show us the Father, and we shall be satisfied." In reply to this, Jesus somewhat indignantly speaks to him: "Have I been with you so long, and yet you do not know me, Philip? He who has seen me has seen the Father; . . . "(verses 8-9).[1]

Again, in the list of the names of Jesus' disciples in the Acts of the Apostles, Philip and Thomas are connected by the coordinating conjunction καί ("and") as if they were a standing pair (Acts 1:13).

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[1] The only other figure who appears in John 14, besides Jesus and those two disciples just mentioned, is "Judas (not Iscariot)" (vs. 22). The significance of this occurrence of Judas, as discussed earlier, is that Thomas and Judas (not Iscariot) were two separate persons in the mind of the author of the Fourth Gospel. They were therefore by no means to be regarded as identical with one another as in the "eastern" tradition which speaks of "Judas Thomas." Suffice it to note at this point that Thomas and Philip here evidently stood in close relationship with each other.

On the other hand, Thomas seems to be recognized as the partner of Matthew in the First Gospel. Here the names of the twelve disciples are arranged in a slightly different manner from those of *Acts*. Thomas and Matthew, not Philip, are now connected by καί, so as to pair them off (Matthew 10:3).[1]

Admittedly, the number of these examples is not impressive. Yet, compared with the rest of the disciples, there seems to exist some sort of tie between Thomas, Philip, and Matthew. The New Testament thus provides, at least in embryo, a double pairing off which, in the course of time, was destined to invite further associational development.

For a more complete trio of Thomas, Philip, and Matthew, however, one must look to extra-canonical sources. The Coptic manuscripts in the British Museum, designated as "Codex Askewianus," contain a substantial work called the *Pistis Sophia*.[2] It is generally agreed that this document in its Coptic form dates from the second half of the fourth century. However, its probable Greek original, produced in Egypt, may well go back to the third century. Furthermore, the tradition contained in it must be considered to have come from, to say the least, a date not long after the completion of the New Testament writings.

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[1] The Second and Third Gospels need not be taken into consideration at this moment. In their list of the twelve disciples, virtually all the names are connected by καί, without suggesting any particular pair or pairs among them (Mark 3:16-19; Luke 6:14-16).

[2] For the discussions on the identification of the personified "Pistis Sophia" and other problems, see Puech's article in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 250-59, from which the following quotations are taken. The *Pistis Sophia* has been translated into English by G. R. S. Mead, *Pistis Sophia* (London, 1896; 2nd ed. 1921; repr. 1947 and 1955), and G. Horner, *Pistis Sophia* (London, 1924). For a detailed study on this document, see Leisegang, *op. cit*., pp. 350-89.

The Pistis Sophia, particularly in chapters 42 and 43, seems to reflect an early Christian tradition which is of great importance for the study of the place of Thomas in the tradition of the early Church. According to what this book relates, Jesus, after the resurrection, commissioned three disciples, Philip, Thomas, and Matthew, to write down all his words. At the same time, they were appointed the authorized witnesses of his message. The portion of the Pistis Sophia in which this trio appears may be cited here. In chapter 42 the following passage occurs:

> Hear, Philip, thou blessed one, that I may speak with thee, for you and Thomas and Matthew are they to whom the charge is given by the first mystery, to write down all the things which I shall say and do, and all the things which ye shall see. . . . But now shall ye three write down all the things that I shall say and do, and (all the things) which ye shall see, that ye may testify to all the things of the kingdom of heaven.[1]

These words of Jesus are then followed, in chapter 43, by Mary's words which read as follows:

> With regard to the word which thou (sc. Jesus) hast said to Philip: "Thou and Thomas and Matthew are the three to whom the charge is given by the first mystery, to write down all the things of the kingdom of light, and to testify thereto," hear now, that I may proclaim the interpretation of this word--this is what thy power of light once prophesied through Moses (Deut. 19:15; cf. Mt. 18:16): "Through two and three witnesses shall

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[1] This and the following quotations, taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 272, are based on the text of the Pistis Sophia provided by Carl Schmidt, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften, Vol. I ("Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte" [hereafter referred to as: GCS], XLV; 2nd ed. rev. W. C. Till; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954).

every thing be established"; the three witnesses are Philip and Thomas and Matthew.[1]

As pointed out on the preceding page, the Pistis Sophia is generally believed to have been composed by certain Gnostics in Egypt during the third century.[2] This relatively late date, however, does not rule out the earlier existence--possibly in the second century--of the "trio" tradition which it contains. The fact that such a tradition is embodied in this decidedly Egyptian, and less orthodox, document clearly indicates that the loose relationship in the New Testament between the three disciples developed itself rather quickly into a tradition, which finally made them into a well-rounded trio. As a result, a considerable number of extra-canonical writings soon began to appear, each purporting to be a work by, or about, one of these three saints.

For the purpose of the present study, however, it seems appropriate to take a renewed look only at extra-canonical "Gospels." First, notice must be taken of a Gospel of Philip. This apocryphal Gospel had long been known through the allusion to its existence made by Epiphanius (315?-403), Bishop of Salamis. In his book entitled Refutation of All the Heresies (or, Panarion), he describes and attacks every heresy known to him from the beginning of the Church, particularly that of the Gnostics in Egypt. On the subject of a book bearing the name of Philip, Epiphanius writes that the Gnostics produced "a gospel forged in the name of Philip the holy disciple." Then he goes on to give the content of this book in the form of citation as follows:

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[1] Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 272.

[2] Ibid., pp. 250-52.

> The Lord revealed to me what the soul must say in its ascent to heaven, and how it must answer each of the powers above: "I have recognized myself and gathered myself together from all sides and have not sown children to the Archon but have uprooted his roots and have gathered the scattered members, and I know thee who thou art; for I belong to those from above." And so it is set free. But if it should prove that the soul has borne a son, it is kept beneath until it is in a position to recover its children and bring them back to itself.[1]

This *Gospel of Philip* seems also to have been in use among the Manichaeans, according to Timothy (died 517), Patriarch of Constantinople,[2] and a work traditionally ascribed to Leontius of Byzantium (sixth century), an anti-Monophysite theologian.[3] It is instructive to note that in both Timothy and Pseudo-Leontius the book called the *Gospel of* (or, *according to*) *Philip* (τὸ κατὰ Φίλιππον εὐαγγέλιον) is mentioned immediately following the *Gospel of Thomas*.

The whole question about a *Gospel of Philip* is now set on an entirely new basis. It is indeed a great privilege for the modern student to be able to have access, for the first time in history, to the *Gospel of Philip* in its entirety as a part of Codex III of the Nag Hammadi collection. As listed toward the end of Chapter I of this dissertation, it is found as the third book of the codex, between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Hypostasis of the Archons*.[4]

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[1] Epiphanius *Panarion* xxvi. 13. 2-3, quoted in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 273; cf. also James, p. 12.

[2] Timothy *De receptione haereticorum* (*PG* LXXXVI. I. 21 C).

[3] Pseudo-Leontius *De sectis* iii. 2 (*PG* LXXXVI. I. 1213 C).

[4] Whether or not the *Gospel of Philip*, referred to by Epiphanius and others, is identical with the one recently discovered near Nag Hammadi, cannot be determined in the present state of knowledge; see Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 277.

Putting aside for the present the Gospel of Thomas, attention may be directed for a moment to the third member of the trio, i.e. Matthew. Here the picture is not quite so simple as that of Philip. The complication is due to two facts: (1) that the Gospel of Matthew is already one of the four canonical Gospels of the Church; and (2) that no "Gospel" under the name of Matthew (as distinct from the Gospel of Matthias) has been known to exist outside the New Testament, nor has there been even any allusion to such.[1]

Nevertheless, the possibility cannot be ruled out that some literature, which might be called a "Gospel" and which may have been ascribed to Matthew, possibly was in existence during those days. Any such literature may long since have become lost. Or, it may have been transmitted under a name other than that of Matthew.

These hypothetical suppositions were substantiated to some degree when it was announced to the public that the Nag Hammadi library contained, in Codex III, a book entitled the Book of Thomas the Athlete mentioned earlier. As pointed out previously, it admittedly is true that the title of this writing does not bear the name of Matthew, nor does it even suggest any connection with him. However, the opening sentence makes it clear that this Book of Thomas the Athlete was supposed to be a collection of the secret words of Jesus spoken to "Judas Thomas" and written down by "Matthew." The book accordingly begins with the following words:

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[1] There are a few writings in the New Testament Apocrypha that are associated with the name of "Matthew," e.g., the Martyrdom of Matthew, and the 8th or 9th century Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew. These, however, are far from being what one would expect to find in search of a "Gospel" ascribed to Matthew. For the Martyrdom of Matthew, see Hennecke-Schneemelcher II, p. 401; James, pp. 460-62. For the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, see Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 368, 406, 410-13; James, pp. 70-79.

> The secret words spoken by the Saviour to Judas Thomas, and which I have written down, I, Matthew (Μαθθαῖος), who heard them while they spoke together.[1]

Thus the Nag Hammadi collection is seen to contain works associated with the names of Philip, Matthew, and Thomas. Together they constitute a trio in the extra-canonical tradition. It is significant also that all three works are found in the same volume of the Nag Hammadi find, Codex III.

Discussions of the early Christian traditions concerning the peculiarly complex triple name of "Didymos Judas Thomas," and the "trio" of Philip, Thomas, and Matthew, may now be brought to a conclusion. In the preceding pages it has been suggested that both these traditions ought to be associated with the less-orthodox Christians who resided in Egypt during the second century. Moreover, nothing seems to prevent further specifying the locality as Alexandria.

Thus, the Coptic Gospel of Thomas in all probability is inseparably bound up with these two traditions of Egyptian origin. This is evident from the fact that the Coptic Gospel of Thomas purports to have been written by a "Didymos Judas Thomas," as its Prologue shows. Also its position, along with the other two writings bearing the names of Philip and Matthew respectively, in the same Codex III of the Nag Hammadi collection, points to the "trio" tradition. In short, the Coptic Gospel of Thomas exhibits a strong tie with that particular geographical locality, i.e., Alexandria in Egypt.

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[1] Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 307.

Whether Alexandria was the place of origin of the Gospel of Thomas, whether it was the locality of its dissemination, or whether it was merely one of the intermediate places which the document may have passed through at one stage or another in its geographical movement and literary development, it is too early to determine at this point of the present study.

CHAPTER IV

A "GOSPEL OF THOMAS" IN THE EARLY CHURCH

In the preceding chapter attention was directed to the early Christian tradition concerning the "trio" of Philip, Thomas, and Matthew. In order to substantiate that supposition, the Gospel of Philip and the Book of Thomas the Athlete (presumably written by Matthew) were then briefly brought under surveillance. Notice, therefore, must now be taken of the third member of the "trio," i.e., Thomas. This chapter thus will be devoted to (1) assembling what evidence is available regarding the existence of a "Gospel" under the name of "Thomas" in the early Church, (2) examining the so-called the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, and (3) identifying the "Gospel of Thomas" as attested by the Church Fathers and other sources.

The earliest patristic reference to a Gospel under the name of Thomas[1] is found in the Refutation of All Heresies written about 230 by Hippolytus (170?-236?), Bishop of Rome. In the Fifth Book of this work he refers to the "Naassenes," a serpent-worshipping Gnostic group in Egypt. Hippolytus speaks of them as having taught about the "blessed nature, at once hidden and revealed, of things past, present and to come." This "nature" the Naassenes considered to be equal to "the kingdom of the heavens which is within man, and is sought after." Then Hippolytus continued to write as follows:

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[1] For further information on ancient witnesses to a "Gospel of Thomas," see Puech's article in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 278-82; James, pp. 14-16; Edgar J. Goodspeed, A History of Early Christian Literature (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942), pp. 80-83; Aurelio de Santos Otero, Los Evangelios Apocrifos ("Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos"; Madrid, 1956; 2nd ed. 1963), pp. 60-63; Quasten, Patrology, Vol. I, pp. 123-25; Berthold Altaner, Patrology, trans. Hilda C. Graef (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), p. 69.

> Of this nature (or: this kingdom) they (the Naassenes) speak expressly in the gospel entitled "according to Thomas," saying: "He who seeks me will find me in children of seven years upward, for there hidden in the fourteenth aeon am I revealed."[1]

This passage is significant not only because it is the earliest to testify concerning the existence of a "Gospel of Thomas" and to refer to it in connection with the "Naassene" Gnostics, but also because here Hippolytus seems even to be quoting from the document in question. The important value of this witness will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

A few years after Hippolytus wrote his *Refutation*, his contemporary, Origen of Alexandria (185?-254?), in the first of his *Homilies on Luke* (written about 233), stated that there was current a "Gospel according to Thomas" (τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον). He included it among the heterodox Gospels and placed it side by side with the *Gospel of Matthias*.[2]

Origen's witness apparently became the basis for later authorities, both Latin and Greek. Thus, Jerome (or, Eusebius Hieronymus, 342?-420) in his translation of Origen's Homilies on Luke,[1] Ambrose (339?-397), Bishop of Milan, in his Exposition on Luke's Gospel,[2] and the Venerable Bede (or, Beda Venerabilis, 673?-735) in his Exposition on Luke's Gospel,[3] all referred to a "Gospel of Thomas" (evangelium Thomae). In the Greek circle, Eusebius (260?-340?), Bishop of Caesarea, also came under the influence of Origen. In his monumental Church History (written 326), he counted a "Gospel of Thomas" among the group of "the disputed books . . . which are put forward by heretics under the name of the apostles," and listed it between the Gospels of Peter and of Matthias.[4]

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[1] Hippolytus *Refutatio* v. 7. 20. This translation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 280, which is based on the edition of the Hippolytus text provided by Paul Wendland, *Hippolytus Werke III: Refutatio omnium haeresium* (GCS 26; Leipzig, 1916), p. 83; cf. also James, p. 15; Santos, *op. cit*., pp. 61-62; *PG* XVI. 3131C-3134A.

[2] Origen *Hom. in Luc*. I (*PL* XXVI. 233); cf. also M. Rauer (ed.), *Origenes Werke IX: Die Homilien zu Lukas in der Übersetzung des Hieronymus und die griechischen Reste der Homilien und des Lukas-Kommentars* (2nd ed.; GCS 49; Berlin, 1959), p. 5. (The Rauer edition was first published as GCS 35 in 1930).

In the early part of the fifth century, Philip Sidetes (flourished about 430)[5] wrote a thirty-six-volume Church History. Only small fragments of this voluminous work have been preserved in a manuscript called "Codex Baroccianus 142."[6] There Philip, referring to Eusebius, wrote that "the majority of the ancients" have completely rejected "the so-called Gospel of Thomas," as well as the Gospels of the Hebrews and of Peter. Those "ancients," according to Philip, did so on the ground that "these writings were the work of heretics," and therefore belonged to the "false gospels." Philip also mentioned the Gospels of the Egyptians, of the Twelve, and of Basilides, as other examples of those "false gospels."

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[1] Rauer, op. cit., p. 5. Also Jerome Commentary on Matthew, Prol. (PL XXVI. 17 A).

[2] Ambrose Expos. ev. Luc. i. 2; cf. C. Schenk, St. Ambrosii opera IV: Expositio evangelii Lucae, I. 2 ("Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum," 32; 1902), p. 10.

[3] Bede Lucae evangelii expositio I, Prol. (PL XCII. 307 C).

[4] Eusebius Hist. eccl. iii. 25. 6.

[5] So called because Philip was a native of Side in Pamphylia. The extant fragments of the work here referred to have been collected by C. de Boor, Neue Fragmente des Papias, Hegesippus und Pierius . . . aus der Kirchengeschichte des Philippus Sidetes ("Texte und Untersuchungen," 5, 2; 1888); for Philip's witness to a "Gospel of Thomas," see this collection by Boor, p. 169.

[6] Cf. Boor, "Zur Kenntnis der Handschriften der griechischen Kirchenhistoriker: Codex Baroccianus 142," Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, VI (Innsbruck, 1884), pp. 478-94.

Of all these witnesses thus far mentioned, however, no one seems to present any clear definition as to the nature of the "heretics" with whom the document under the name of Thomas was presumably associated. The only exception is Hippolytus, who definitely connected it with the Naassenes.

Another set of witnesses become extremely important at this point on account of their common assertion that a "Gospel of Thomas" was used, or even produced, by the "Manichaeans." This group of ancient authorities, apparently, were led by Cyril (315-386), Bishop of Jerusalem. Writing twenty-two years after Eusebius' Church History was completed, Cyril gave strong advice to his "catechumens" in the twenty-four Catechetical Instructions (written about 348) as follows:

> And of the New Testament read the four Gospels only. The others are apocryphal (pseudepigraphic) and harmful. The Manichaeans also wrote a Gospel according to Thomas, which, though coloured with the fragrance of a gospel-name, corrupts the souls of the simpler.[1]

Elsewhere in the same surviving work, Cyril also wrote the following words of warning against using the "Gospel of Thomas":

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[1] Cyril Orat. Catecheses iv. 36 (PG XXXIII. 500 B); quoted in James, p. 15.

> Let no one read the Gospel according to Thomas, for it is not by one of the twelve apostles, but by one of the three wicked disciples of Manes.[1]

This tradition attested by Cyril is significant on account of its assertion that the author of the "Gospel of Thomas" was not one of Jesus' twelve disciples but was a disciple of Manes who presumably was also called "Thomas." Obviously, however, it is difficult to reconcile this witness with the fact that Manes (or, according to the usual Western form, Manichaeus, 215?-275) did not actually begin his own special teaching until about 240, i.e., until the time of Hippolytus and Origen. By then, to both of these Fathers, as seen earlier, a "Gospel of Thomas" already had been known, and, therefore, the document must be considered older than the Manichaean sect.

Yet, despite the obvious contradiction such as this, Cyril's statement was evidently regarded as acceptable by a host of ancient authorities who followed him. Coming from them are the evidences provided by Peter of Sicily,[2] Pseudo-Photius,[3] Pseudo-Leontius,[4] Timothy (died 517), Patriarch of Constantinople,[5] and the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787).[1] Furthermore, the so-called Pseudo-Gelasian Decree, in its Fifth Part, has a catalogue of the "apocrypha" and other writings which are to be rejected. In this is included a "Gospel under the name of Thomas, which the Manichaeans use" and clearly classified as "apocryphum."[2]

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[1] *Ibid*. vi. 31 (*PG* XXXIII. 593 A); quoted in James, p. 15.

[2] Peter *Hist. Manich*. xvi (*PG* CIV. 1265 C).

[3] Pseudo-Photius *Manich*. i. 14 (*PG* CII. 41 B), ascribed to Photius (*ca*. 810-895), Patriarch of Constantinople.

[4] Pseudo-Leontius *De sectis* iii. 2 (*PG* LXXXVI. I. 1213 C), ascribed to Leontius, the anti-Monophysite theologian of Byzantium (6th century).

[5] Timothy *De receptione haereticorum* (*PG* LXXXVI. I. 21 C).

Last of all, there are two more witnesses, both referring to the "Gospel of Thomas," yet, unlike the above-mentioned references, without associating it with the Manichaeans. One of these is found in the "Synopsis" of Pseudo-Athanasius,[3] and the other in the so-called Stichometry of Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople (806-818). The latter is a list of the books of the Bible and the Apocrypha, giving the length of each one in stichoi, i.e., lines of Homeric length. The canon catalogue in this work, listing the books of the Old and New Testaments, is followed by a list of the "antilegomena" and of the "apocrypha." Here the "Gospel of Thomas" is listed among the "apocrypha" of the New Testament, and is given 1,300 lines as its length.[4]

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[1] Act. VI. 5; cf. Giovanni Domenico Mansi (1692-1769), Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio (31 vols.; 1758-1798), Vol. XIII (1767), col. 293 B.

[2] Cf. E. von Dobschütz, Das Decretum Gelasianum ("Texte und Untersuchungen," 38, 4; 1912), p. 11. The portion of this document, which contains the list of the "apocrypha," is given in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 46-49. The Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis is an early Latin document, frequently transmitted under the name of Pope Gelasius (492-496). However, according to von Dobschütz, it is not a Papal work at all, but probably a private composition produced in Italy in the early 6th century.

[3] PG XXVIII. 432 B.

[4] PG C. 1060 B. A portion of this document relative to the list of the non-canonical writings is provided by Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 49-51. "Stichometry" is the practice, since at least 300 B.C.,

It is interesting to observe that a writing referred to as "Gospel of Thomas" has been associated by different ones of these authorities with at least three separate groups in the early Church: (1) with the "Naassenes" by Hippolytus; (2) with the "heretics" in general by Origen and his copyists; and (3) with the "Manichaeans" by Cyril and his followers.

There is, however, still one more individual who should not be omitted from a discussion of ancient witnesses to a "Gospel of Thomas." This person is Irenaeus (130?-200?), Bishop of Lyons. Admittedly, he did not explicitly mention a "Gospel of Thomas." But he has often been interpreted to have connected a document under that title with a group of Gnostics in Gaul known as the "Marcosians."

The "Marcosians" were the followers of the Gnostic Marcus, a disciple of Valentinus. According to Irenaeus, who is the sole source of information concerning this sect, it seems to have flourished during the middle or the latter half of the second century in the Rhône Valley. Since Lyons, where Irenaeus was the bishop, was located on the Rhône, Irenaeus' familiarity with the Marcosians cannot be doubted. It is known that those Gnostics used the *Acts of Thomas* and other apocryphal books as their Scriptures. They are said also to have produced a great number of apocryphal writings

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of measuring the length of a MS by the number of lines. In classical Greek MSS the standard line (στίχος) contained sixteen syllables. In Biblical MSS, however, a fifteen-syllable line was sometimes used for the Gospels. The number of 1,300 lines assigned to the "Gospel of Thomas" is one-half the length of that given to the canonical *Gospel of Luke*, to give one example.

to support their teachings and to deceive ignorant people.[1]

In his Against Heresies written about 180, Irenaeus seems to have been quoting, from one of those writings current among the Marcosians, the following story relating to the child Jesus:

> They adduce, too, this false invention, that when the Lord as a child was learning the alphabet, and his teacher said, as the custom is: Say Alpha; he answered: Alpha. But when the teacher bade him to say Beta, the Lord answered: First tell thou me what Alpha is, and then will I tell thee what Beta is. And this they interpret as meaning that he alone knew the unknown mystery, which he manifested in the form of Alpha.[2]

Irenaeus did not specify the source of this episode. However, it seems obvious from the context that he found it in one of those writings that were in use among the Marcosians. Whether the Marcosians actually invented it, or whether they took it over from a source that had passed into their hands, is difficult to determine. Yet, because the story concerns an incident supposedly related to the childhood of Jesus, it has been conjectured that it was contained in some "Infancy Gospel" which the Marcosians kept in their library.

Accordingly, some scholars, recalling the nature of the content in the so-called Infancy Gospel of Thomas, which consists of a number of miracle stories presumably taken from the life of Jesus before the age of twelve, have been led to conclude that the

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[1] Cf. Irenaeus Adv. haer. i. 7-14. Other sources such as Hippolytus Refutatio vi. 39-55, and Epiphanius Panarion xxxiv, seem to be based exclusively on Irenaeus. For further information on the Marcosians, see Leisegang, op. cit., pp. 326-49; R. M. Grant, Gnosticism: An Anthology (London: Collins, 1961), pp. 191-94.

[2] Irenaeus Adv. haer. i. 13. 1, quoted in James, p. 15; cf. also Goodspeed, op. cit., p. 81.

Irenaeus episode was originally contained in the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. It may well be, according to this assumption, that Irenaeus was not aware of its source and therefore did not mention the title of the document from which the story had presumably been taken by the Marcosians.

It may also be assumed that this episode finds further support from the fact that the standard version of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas contains two stories about the boy Jesus, both having to do with the alphabet. The first tells how Jesus, at the age of five, became a pupil of Zacchaeus the scribe. He told Jesus "all the letters from Alpha to Omega clearly, with much questioning." Jesus, however, "looked at Zacchaeus the teacher and said to him" the following words:

> How do you, who do not know the Alpha according to its nature, teach others the Beta? Hypocrite, first if you know it, teach the Alpha, and then we shall believe you concerning the Beta.[1]

The second story relates that when Jesus was six years old, Joseph the father took him to another teacher. After the teacher "wrote the alphabet and practised it with him for a long time," Jesus told him as follows:

> If you are indeed a teacher, and if you know the letters well, tell me the meaning of the Alpha, and I will tell you that of the Beta.[2]

These words of Jesus, particularly in the second story, are virtually the same as those in the Irenaeus passage quoted above. This would seem to confirm the belief that the story of the boy Jesus, concerning the meaning of the letters in the alphabet as quoted by Irenaeus in connection with the Marcosians, was originally part of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. Thus James, for example, was able to express the opinion as follows:

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[1] Infancy Gospel of Thomas 6:3. This and the following quotations are taken from the text provided by Oscar Cullmann in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 394 and 397.

[2] Infancy Gospel of Thomas 14:2.

> It seems probable from Irenaeus's language that the Marcosians took this [story] from an apocryphal writing. I have not much doubt that that was the [Infancy] Gospel of Thomas.[1]

James, in other words, believes that the Marcosians used the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, to which the story from the childhood of Jesus, quoted by Irenaeus, originally belonged.

Although widely accepted, this theory is by no means free from objection. Clearly, for one thing, there are no positive grounds on which to establish any definite connection between Irenaeus and the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. It is entirely on the basis of the nature of the story itself that Irenaeus can be said to have anything to do with that Gospel.

Of course, it may be argued that the existence of virtually the same story in both the Irenaeus passage and the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, as has been pointed out, should be considered decisive on the matter. Such an argument could be maintained without dispute if the Infancy Gospel of Thomas were the only document in which the same episode about the boy Jesus, as quoted by Irenaeus, is found. On the contrary, there is strong evidence that this particular story was widely current among early Christians, especially during the second and third centuries, and somewhat even at much later times. For example, the Epistle of the Apostles contains the following account:

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[1] James, pp. 15-16.

> This is what our Lord Jesus Christ did, who was delivered by Joseph and Mary his mother to where he might learn letters. And he who taught him said to him as he taught him, "Say Alpha." He answered and said to him, "First you tell me what Beta is."[1]

Evidence for wide circulation of this episode might be assumed to be indicated by at least two more references. One of them is found in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy;[2] the other in the

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[1] Epistula Apostolorum chap. 4. Also known as the Testament of Our Lord in Galilee, this work purports to be a record of conversations between the eleven disciples and the Risen Lord. It takes the form of a letter sent out by the disciples to the Christians of the four regions of the earth. Originally written in Greek, it is extant only in Ethiopic (complete), Coptic (partial), and Latin (only a single leaf). Since its discovery in 1895 it has been generally agreed that the purpose of the writing of this document was to fight against the Gnostics. This points to a fairly early date in the second century. Thus the document is believed to have been produced in Asia Minor or Egypt sometime during the first half of the second century. The complete text in Ethiopic and partially in Coptic has been edited by Carl Schmidt, Epistula Apostolorum: Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung ("Texte und Untersuchungen," 43; Leipzig, 1919). For further discussions on this document and its text in English, see James, pp. 485-503; Hugo Duensing's article in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 189 -227. The quotation here is taken from the last-mentioned work, p. 193; cf. also James, p. 486.

[2] Arabic Gospel of the Infancy chap. 49. One of the many later compilations of the "Infancy stories" of Jesus, this document contains all kinds of legends about the Holy Family's flight into Egypt, in addition to materials already known elsewhere. Originally written in Syriac, it is extant in several Arabic MSS. The first text was published as early as 1697 by Henry Sike, Evangelium infantiae vel liber apocryphus de Infantia Servatoris (1697). A summary of this document is found in James, pp. 80-82, and the full text is given in Ante-Nicene Christian Library, XVI, pp. 100-24. The possible influence of this document on the Koran makes the early 7th century the terminus ad quem, but the exact date of its composition is undeterminable. The general oriental color of this work suggests the East as the place of origin, but no more precision on this question is possible. The Infancy stories of Jesus may have been carried as far as India in this Arabic form.

Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.[1] However, these two cannot carry much weight as evidence because of their lateness of origin.

On the other hand, the Epistle of the Apostles is generally believed to date from a relatively early time in the history of Christianity, i.e., the first half of the second century, and therefore is of special importance. The main problem here is the fact that the question of relationship between this document and the Infancy Gospel of Thomas cannot be answered with any degree of certainty at the present state of knowledge. Consequently, the fact that the same story about the child Jesus is found both in the Epistle of the Apostles and the Infancy Gospel of Thomas opens the possibility that the episode as quoted by Irenaeus may have been taken from the Epistle of the Apostles, rather than from the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. In short, the presumed connection between Irenaeus and the Infancy Gospel of Thomas cannot be established so easily as James and others seem to believe.[2]

Thus the Irenaeus passage, which will be taken up later in connection with Logion 4 in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, may accordingly be excluded from the list of evidences for the existence of a "Gospel of Thomas." This also rules out, at least for the time being, the possibility of associating a "Gospel of Thomas" with the "Marcosians," to whom Irenaeus made reference.

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[1] Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew 32:2; 38:1. Written in Latin in the 8th or 9th century, this document represents the refined, most acceptable (at least to the Roman Church) compilation of the legends from the older Infancy Gospels. As such it was able to exercise tremendous influence upon literature and art throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The document is extant in a great number of Latin MSS. Constantin Tischendorf made use of four of them (three of the 14th century; one of the 15th) for his edition of this document in Evangelia Apocrypha (Leipzig, 1853; 2nd ed. 1876), pp. 51-112.

[2] Also E. Goodspeed, who stated: "While Irenaeus does not say he found it [the story about the boy Jesus] in the [Infancy] Gospel of Thomas, it is most likely that he did" (op. cit., p. 81).

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In the foregoing pages the title of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas has been mentioned without proper introduction. It therefore seems appropriate at this point to give special attention to that Gospel. This is necessary because some knowledge of that document is essential for identifying the literary work referred to by the Church Fathers and other early Christian sources as a "Gospel of Thomas."

The so-called Infancy Gospel of Thomas has been transmitted in many manuscripts and in various languages. The Jesuit scholar Paul Peeters thinks that all editions of the childhood stories of Jesus ultimately go back to a Syriac original.[1] However, there has been no unanimous agreement among scholars as to whether or not this theory is really capable of solving all the intricate problems concerning the textual recension of the Gospel under discussion.

In opposition to Peeters' ingenious but unwarranted hypothesis, most scholars seem to agree that the Infancy Gospel of Thomas was probably written originally in Greek. A few extant Greek manuscripts, though all late and not always reliable, are classified by Tischendorf into two categories, according to their length: (1) a longer form "A" with nineteen chapters, and (2) a shorter form "B" with eleven chapters.

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[1] Paul Peeters, Évangile apocryphes II ("Texte et Documents pour l'Étude du Christianisme"; 1914), "Introduction."

There are three major Greek manuscripts containing the longer "A" text of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. The first of these was edited from the manuscript known as the "Paris" fragment by Cotelier in 1700.[1] In this text, Chapter Seven is followed by the story of "Jesus and the dyer." This passage is found in no other manuscripts of that Gospel, although it has been known from the Arabic and Armenian Gospels of the Infancy.

The second of the longer texts, called "Bologna" (fifteenth century), was used as the basis of the first complete Greek text edited by G. L. Mingarelli in 1764.[2] This manuscript is in almost complete agreement with the third major Greek manuscript known as "Dresden" (sixteenth century).[3] Tischendorf made the last two manuscripts, i.e., "Bologna" and "Dresden," the basis for his Greek and Latin edition of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas published in 1853.[4]

Of the shorter Greek "B" texts, only a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century manuscript from Sinai has been edited by Tischendorf.[5]

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[1] "Codex Parisinus 239" (15th cent.); Cotelier, Sanctorum Patrum qui in temporibus Apostolicis floruerunt opera I (1700), pp. 347ff.

[2] Mingarelli, Nuova raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici XII (Venezia, 1764), pp. 73-155.

[3] J. C. Thilo, Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti I (Leipzig, 1832), pp. 275ff.

[4] Tischendorf, Evangelia Apocrypha (Leipzig, 1853; 2nd ed. 1876), pp. 140-57.

[5] Ibid., pp. 158-63.

Turning to the Syriac manuscripts, there are at least three important manuscripts: (1) the sixth-century "London (British Museum)" manuscript, edited by W. Wright with an English translation;[1] (2) the fifth- or sixth-century manuscript edited by A. Meyer of Göttingen;[2] and (3) a manuscript found in the "Vatican Codex."[3] Peeters, as has been mentioned, believes that the original Infancy Gospel was written in Syriac. Accordingly, he holds a high estimate of the last-mentioned "Vatican" manuscript, on the ground that it stands very close to the presumed Syriac original.

In the circle of Latin manuscripts, Tischendorf is again responsible for the first edition of the so-called "Latin Thomas." He prepared this edition from a later "Vatican" manuscript.[4] This manuscript has at the beginning the story of the flight of Jesus and his family into Egypt, a story not found in the Greek or Syriac manuscripts. Latin manuscripts thus show some affinities, although only in part, to the Infancy stories found in the Arabic and Armenian Gospels of the Infancy, as well as to the later Latin Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew.[5]

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[1] Wright, Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament (London, 1865), pp. 1-16. This manuscript is said to preserve a very good ancient tradition.

[2] Meyer prepared this edition for the second edition of Hennecke's Neutestamentliche Apokryphen (Tübingen, 1924), pp. 96-102.

[3] Cod. Vat. syr. 159.

[4] Tischendorf, op. cit., pp. 164ff.

[5] For this particular story, see Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, chap. 10; Santos, op. cit., pp. 314-15. The story of "Jesus and the dyer," referred to on the preceding page, is found in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, chap. 37, and the Armenian Gospel of the Infancy, chap. 21.

There are still a few more manuscripts of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* in other languages.[1] These, however, are relatively insignificant for the present purpose, and therefore need not be discussed any further. Attention, however, may be directed to the fact that as yet there has not been produced any fully collated, critical edition of this *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*. The "standard" editions in modern languages are usually based, as Tischendorf's edition was, on the longer Greek "A" manuscripts, particularly those of "Bologna" and "Dresden," supplemented, only when necessary, by the Syriac variants as they appear in the "London" manuscript.[2]

According to the longer Greek texts of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, the document is entitled: "Account of the Infancy of the Lord by Thomas, the Philosopher of Israel" (Θωμᾶ Ἰσραηλίτου φιλοσόφου ῥητα εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦ Κυρίου). The shorter text does not have the additional elements attached to the name "Thomas" as in the form of the longer text. The title of this Gospel in the shorter text thus reads: "Book of the Holy Apostle Thomas concerning the Life of the Lord in His Infancy" (Σύγγραμμα τοῦ Ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Θωμᾶ περὶ τῆς παιδικῆς ἀναστροφῆς τοῦ Κυρίου).

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[1] E.g., *Georgian*: G. Garitte, "Le fragment georgien de l'Évangile de Thomas," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, LI (1956), pp. 513-20; *Ethiopic*: S. Grébaut in *Patrologia Orientalis*, XII, 4 (Paris, 1919), pp. 625-42; *idem* in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XVI (Paris, 1911), pp. 255-65; 356-67; *Slavonic*: N. Bonwetsch in Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, I (1893), p. 910; W. Lüdtke, "Die slavischen Texte des Thomas-Evangeliums," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, VI (Athens, 1927), pp. 490-508.

[2] The text in English established according to this principle is available in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 392-401; James, pp. 49-70. Santos also follows the same principle for his text in Greek and Spanish (*op. cit.*, pp. 285-303). For a convenient discussion of texts and versions of this Gospel, see Santos, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-84.

The so-called Infancy Gospel of Thomas, as thus established, contains a number of miracle stories presumably performed by the child Jesus between the ages of five and twelve years. The book closes with the story of the twelve-year-old Jesus in the Temple, an account substantially the same as that recorded in the canonical Gospel of Luke.[1]

Careful reading of its nineteen chapters shows that the original compiler of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas evidently attempted to present Jesus as an infant prodigy and divine teacher. Almost from birth he possessed all the potential power and wisdom to make him capable of fulfilling every miracle he was later to perform. Containing both the narrative accounts of what Jesus did and the words and sayings spoken by him, the document resembles the canonical Gospels in its literary style.

The exact date of its composition cannot be determined with certainty. Oscar Cullmann, referring to the Irenaeus passage mentioned earlier, states that "the Marcosians possessed a document containing a portion of the Gospel of Thomas." He continues to write: "It thus reaches back to the end of the second century."[2]

However, Cullmann's judgment on the presumed relationship between Irenaeus, the Marcosians, and the "Gospel of Thomas," is difficult to maintain, for the reasons already given. Nevertheless, there seems nothing to stand in the way of admitting that the document was probably written no later than that date. The overall docetic flavor of this Infancy Gospel may even suggest an earlier date, i.e., around the middle or the first half of the second century.

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[1] Luke 2:41-52.

[2] Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 391.

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The question concerning various items normally dealt with in an "introduction" to the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, including the matter of its date, cannot be answered adequately until the identity of a "Gospel of Thomas" alluded to by the Church Fathers and other ancient authorities has been established. This necessarily leads to a closer examination of the aforementioned witnesses to the existence of such a document.

Apart from Irenaeus, whose testimony has been discarded as irrelevant, there are actually only a few witnesses which provide more information than the bare title of the document in point. The first of these is Hippolytus. As has been shown earlier, Hippolytus not only speaks of the "gospel entitled 'according to Thomas'," but also quotes from it what is alleged to be a saying of Jesus: "He who seeks me will find me in children of seven years upward, for there hidden in the fourteenth aeon am I revealed."

The principal question here is: Is this "gospel entitled 'according to Thomas'" to be identified with the Infancy Gospel of Thomas just discussed? At first sight, one gets the impression that the answer would be in the affirmative, especially on account of the mention of "the children of seven years upward" in the Hippolytus passage.

Such an impression would seem to be given further justification as it is recalled that the Infancy Gospel of Thomas contains stories about the boy Jesus at the ages of five, six, and twelve.

Evidently, there is a wide gap between the last two ages. The Hippolytus reference to "seven years upward" thus would appear to fill in that open space so as to provide a chronologically ordered sequence of events which presumably took place in the boyhood of Jesus. The Infancy Gospel of Thomas, then, would be considered to have contained originally a complete record of all the miracles supposedly performed by Jesus at every age between five and twelve.

On this assumption, it is further conjectured that a part of this original Infancy Gospel of Thomas, covering the ages between seven and eleven, became lost. A small segment of this presumably lost portion then somehow passed into the hands of the "Naassenes." They, in turn, began to make use of it for their own purposes, and quite likely found it necessary to alter it according to their particular theological orientation. What is quoted by Hippolytus, then, would be a section of the presumed original Infancy Gospel of Thomas, with its story radically changed, but its reference to the age of "seven" still retained.

An attempt to reconstruct the "original" form of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, in this or any other way, remains highly conjectural and therefore subject to criticism. The number "fourteen" in the Hippolytus quotation, for example, can hardly fit into the picture of Jesus' boyhood according to the scheme of the known edition of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. Moreover, the tone and atmosphere of the saying of Jesus quoted by Hippolytus do not seem to be in harmony with those of the legends about the boy Jesus that characterize the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. In short, the nature of the saying of Jesus reported by Hippolytus does not appear to match that of the miracle stories typical of the Infancy Gospel in question. Thus it becomes evident that the literary work referred to as the "gospel entitled 'according to Thomas'" by Hippolytus, in connection with the Naassenes, can hardly be identified with the apocryphal *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*.

This conclusion may be justified by further observing that there is good reason to believe that neither Hippolytus himself nor the Naassenes took this saying attributed to Jesus to be of the same nature as the simple miracle stories which are found in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*. Because of the vagueness in the meaning of Jesus' saying quoted by Hippolytus, various attempts have been made to interpret what it is supposed to mean.

One such proposal is to explain it by reference to a passage from the Coptic document called the *Second Book of Jeu*. There it is said that the "great god, who . . . is called the great and righteous (Χρηστός)" is sought "in the fourteenth aeon."[1] Another attempt tries to tie up the saying with the "fourteen great (Light-) aeons," about which "Sethel has spoken in his prayer," as recorded in the Manichaean Coptic manuscript called *Kephalaia*.[2]

The best of all the explanations thus far offered, however, is the one given by Hippolytus himself in connection with the Naassenes. Following the passage quoted earlier, he explains what they took the saying of Jesus to mean. According to Hippolytus, the basic idea underlying the saying actually belongs to a Hippocratic theory transmitted among the Stoics such as Zeno (340?-265? B.C.) and Cleanthes of Assos (331-233 B.C.). Thus the saying, as it was understood by the Naassenes, should probably be interpreted to mean that up until the seventh year of age, when the falling off of the milk teeth usually takes place, a child has neither understanding nor the _logos_. The _logos_ is believed to develop during the period from the seventh to the fourteenth years of life. It is to be fully achieved with the puberty and the breaking of the voice. Finally, in the fourteenth year, the divine _logos_ takes the place of the human reason. Concurrently, the invisible reality of Christ, the perfect Man, and thereby of the kingdom of heaven, becomes embodied in him.

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[1] *Second Book of Jeu*, chap. 52; cf. C. Schmidt, *Koptisch-gnostische Schriften* I (GCS 45; 2 Aufl., bearbeitet von W. C. Till; Berlin, 1954), p. 327, lines 23f.

[2] Manichaean *Kephalaia* x; cf. A. Böhlig and C. Schmidt (eds.), *Kephalaia: Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin* I (Stuttgart, 1936), pp. 42-43. For this proposal, cf. H. H. Schaeder, *Gnomon* (1933), p. 353, n. 2.

This theory concerning the progressive development of the divine _logos_ in a human being, at the successive stages of his natural growth, apparently was further reinforced by the Naassenes. In the words of Hippolytus, they maintained thus:

> This entrance and this gate Jacob saw when he betook himself to Mesopotamia, i.e. when he passed from childhood to youth and manhood; for this is the meaning of the expression: 'He betook himself to Mesopotamia' (Gen. 28:7). Mesopotamia, the Naassene explains, is the current of the great ocean, which flows from the midst of the perfect Man. Looking in admiration at the gate of heaven, Jacob cried out: 'How dreadful is this place! This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven' (Gen. 28:17). That is why, he continues, Jesus said: 'I am the true door' (Jn. 10:9). But he who thus speaks is the perfect Man, who has received a form from above, from the Being whom no form can define. The perfect Man, then, can only be saved by entering through this gate to be born again to a new life.[1]

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[1] Hippolytus _Refutatio_ v. 8. 19-21. This quotation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 280-81.

Thus it seems evident that the original meaning of the saying of Jesus quoted by Hippolytus was understood by the Naassenes to point to the divine revelation and its implantation and growth in man.

It is perhaps in the same sense that a passage from the late Latin Infancy Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew should be understood. Here Jesus is said to have spoken the following words:

> I have been among you with the children, and ye have not recognized me. I have spoken with you as with people of understanding, and ye have not recognized my voice.[1]

It may be argued that the Infancy Gospel of Thomas also intends to unveil the divine logos, God's power and wisdom, as personified in the figure of the boy Jesus. However, the manner in which it does so is markedly different from that exhibited in the Hippolytus passage. Thus it becomes increasingly clear that the "Gospel entitled 'according to Thomas'" mentioned by Hippolytus must be distinguished sharply from the Infancy Gospel of Thomas.

The witnesses of Origen and his copyists seem to offer no clue to the question of the identity of a "Gospel of Thomas," of which they mention only the bare title.

Much more significant are a series of ancient witnesses beginning with Cyril of Jerusalem. These authorities all put the "Gospel of Thomas" into some relationship with the Manichaeans. Timothy of Constantinople particularly deserves special attention for two reasons. First, Timothy lists the "Gospel of Thomas" immediately preceding the Gospel of Philip. The same is true with

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[1] Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew 30:4. The quotation here is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 281.

Pseudo-Leontius. Here it is worth noticing that, like in Origen and Eusebius, another pair of the apostles, this time Thomas and Philip, are picked up from the extra-canonical "trio." In other words, these three apostles, or the literary works bearing their names, must have come, as a group, to the attention of these witnesses in one way or another. This is precisely the situation that meets the student of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts, as the list of their contents toward the end of Chapter I clearly shows.

Secondly, Timothy's witness is worth special notice because he unmistakably recognizes the "Gospel of Thomas" and the "Infancy Tales of the Lord" (i.e., the _Infancy Gospel of Thomas_) as two distinct works, assigning in his list of the Manichaean writings the number "nine" to the former, and the number "thirteen" to the latter. The existence of at least two "Gospels" bearing the name of Thomas finds the final word of proof precisely in this evidence provided by Timothy.

The conclusion that there were in existence at least two "Gospels of Thomas" may be inferred also from the fact that even the longest of various versions of the _Infancy Gospel of Thomas_, such as found in the Greek manuscripts "A," is not half as long as the 1,300 lines assigned to the "Gospel of Thomas" in the _Stichometry_ of Nicephorus, as mentioned earlier.

How did the world of Biblical scholarship react to these ancient witnesses that have been discussed in the preceding pages? Until recently the only "Gospel" under the name of Thomas, of which scholars were able to obtain any first-hand knowledge, was the _Infancy Gospel of Thomas_. It was, therefore, only natural that scholars should have been led to interpret those early Christian witnesses, even that of Timothy, as indicating the existence of two versions of the one basic document, rather than two distinct works.

According to this hitherto generally accepted view, the longer of these two versions has been supposed to be the original. It was to this edition, it is said, that the Stichometry of Nicephorus assigned 1,300 lines as its length. It has been assumed further that the nature of this original version was decidedly heterodox.

The other of the two supposed versions is shorter than the first. It has been assumed to be identical with what is known as the Infancy Gospel of Thomas. Curtailment was necessary, in the opinion of those holding the generally accepted view, because the original version contained elements that were too conspicuously heterodox to commend itself to some early readers. The so-called Infancy Gospel of Thomas thus has been characterized, to use Bardenhewer's phrase, as "a shortened and expurgated form of the original Gospel of Thomas."[1] James similarly has expressed his opinion in the following words:

> I have, myself, very little doubt that our [Infancy] Gospel [of Thomas] is the skelton of the old one--the stories retained and the unorthodox discourses cut out.[2]

Essentially repeating the view of the supposed authorities in this matter, Goodspeed also stated his position as follows:

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[1] O. Bardenhewer, Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur, I (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1913), p. 532.

[2] James, p. 14.

> It seems probable that these short forms of the Gospel of Thomas were produced by cutting out of it the objectionable heretical matter and by retaining the stories of Jesus' childhood wonders--shaping clay sparrows and making them come to life, striking dead those who annoy him, covering his teachers with confusion, raising the dead, curing people of injuries, even making Joseph's mismeasurements in the carpenter shop come out right. As it stands, the crude little gospel reflects an ancient impulse to push Jesus' miracle-working power back into his boyhood. . . . But a complete form of the second-century Gospel of Thomas has yet to be found.[1]

Supported by such prominent scholars as Theodor Zahn, Harnack, Altaner, and Quasten,[2] in addition to those just mentioned, this generally accepted theory has continued to exercise its wide influence unchallenged. Consequently, those ancient evidences listed in the preceding pages were almost invariably understood to refer to the supposedly "original" version of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, of which the present Infancy Gospel of Thomas was believed to be a shortened form.

This was as far as scholarly research has been able to go. The fundamental conclusion has seemed final, that no "Gospel of Thomas," other than the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, ever existed. No one has anticipated the possibility of any significant further progress beyond that point in the state of scholarly knowledge being made in the future with regard to a "Gospel of Thomas." As Goodspeed has stated at the end of the paragraph quoted above, the real expectation, rather, was directed toward the possible finding of a more original and complete manuscript, presumably of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, which might shed some new light upon the entire situation.

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[1] Goodspeed, op. cit., p. 83.

[2] Cf. Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons, I (Leipzig, 1888), pp. 746-48; II (1892), pp. 768-73; Harnack, op. cit. II, pp. 593-95; Altaner, op. cit., p. 51; Quasten, Patrology, Vol. I, pp. 123-25.

It was against this background of scholarly confidence that the sands of Upper Egypt near Nag Hammadi suddenly yielded an important document that has severely jolted all previous scholarly assumptions in this regard. Preserved in near perfect condition, the manuscript was found in a codex containing seven separate books, two of which bear the names of "Philip" and "Matthew" respectively. The document, according to its colophon, is clearly entitled: "The Gospel According To Thomas."

PART II

THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS

CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEM OF THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS

It is an unfortunate circumstance that the subject of the literary development of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* has not as yet received much treatment. As a matter of fact, the world of Biblical scholarship seems to have been gathering a rather poor harvest in this respect.

Because of this challenging situation, in which the student of *Thomas* finds himself today, it becomes all the more important to deal with this particular problem of *Thomas*' literary history as closely as possible. The Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*, as it now stands, appears to represent one of the stages in the course of the literary evolution of the *Gospel of Thomas*. These stages will be discussed in the following chapters in the order these developments are believed by the present writer to have taken place.

However, before going into detailed discussion of the main subject in this dissertation, it seems appropriate to make a quick survey in this chapter of the various opinions that thus far have been expressed by representative scholars with regard to the literary growth of the *Gospel of Thomas*.

Henri-Charles Puech is an example in point. One may refer especially to his article in the third and latest edition of Edgar

Hennecke's famous New Testament Apocrypha. In that publication he expresses the conclusion that there were in existence "at least two recensions, two versions," of the Gospel of Thomas. He maintains that one of these was read by "orthodox Christians," while the other was circulated in "Gnostic and Manichaean circles."[1] The former, he believes, is attested by the papyrus shroud inscription discovered at Oxyrhynchus and by the Fifth Saying in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment No. 654, both of which, as will be discussed in detail later in Chapter VII, refer to the resurrection of the dead. He finds evidence for the latter, by contrast, in Logion 5 of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, which lacks that reference to resurrection.

As a description of the possible situation after the Coptic version of Thomas had been made, Puech may be pointing in a generally acceptable direction. However, at least two matters are not satisfactorily explained by his observation. First, it does not account for the existence of rather wide divergencies between some of Thomas' logia and their Gnostic and Manichaean counterparts. It accordingly would be more satisfactory to assume that there were two distinct unorthodox versions. One of these would be represented by the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas. The other presumably was a considerably modified edition used by the established Gnostics and Manichaeans. This latter edition probably is the one referred to by Cyril of Jerusalem in the fourth century as originating from the Manichaean circle. The probable existence of such a decidedly heterodox Gospel of Thomas will be suggested in Chapter VIII of this dissertation.

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[1] Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 306.

Secondly, Puech's thesis does not account adequately for how the document called the Gospel of Thomas was brought into existence. Only vaguely does he suggest that the earliest version of Thomas may have been associated with "a group which professed that rather bizarre Christianity, strongly tinged with Encratism, which was widespread in Syria and Egypt in the 2nd century."[1] Beyond that, he apparently does not wish to go, for immediately preceding this statement, he expressed his opinion that "it is hazardous, and probably indeed misguided, to seek to visualize its original form and determine its origin."[2]

To a degree, this latter statement may be warranted. However, it is hardly justifiable that a forbidding moratorium should be placed on further investigation of Thomas' origin. Nor can its literary history be cut off at such an arbitrary point without further trying to find out some kind of an answer as to its still earlier developments and origin. The present writer has assumed that one must take a risk and proceed with the task of exploring further into the earlier history of this Gospel. This is imperative, even on the basis of what may seem largely hypothesis, so long as that hypothesis remains consonant with what few indications are available.

At least one of Puech's assertions needs to be appreciated in the light of what will be discussed in the following chapters. This is his contention that the _Gospel of Thomas_ should not be considered as "either exclusively or originally the work of a Gnostic."[1]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 305.

Jean Doresse has not much to contribute toward understanding the literary development of the _Gospel of Thomas_. He does, however, have a theory as to its original composition. He recognizes in _Thomas_ "different layers of material which were successively juxtaposed in the composition of the present work."[2] These "layers," as Doresse sees them, indicate that there were three aspects to the way in which _Thomas_ was composed. These are as follows:

> [1] The author, or rather the successive authors, gleaned from the canonical gospels certain texts which met with their approval; [2] to these they added other sentences which the New Testament had not conserved but which tradition still attributed to Jesus; and [3] finally they presumed to add certain formulas invented on the model of the previous sayings but which were designed to popularize the doctrines of the compilers.[3]

Like most others, Doresse thinks that "a great part of [_Thomas_'] contents must come directly from the middle of the second century and probably even earlier."[4] "The possible geographical origin" of _Thomas_ is also identified by Doresse as Edessa, which was "the main centre" of "Syrian Christianity," where "Thomas . . . was most zealously venerated."[5] Toward the end of his remarks,

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[1] _Ibid_.

[2] Doresse, p. 343.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 344.

[4] _Ibid_., p. 351.

[5] _Ibid_., pp. 348, 339-40.

Doresse gives some consideration to the question as to who were responsible for the composition of this Gospel. He concludes as follows:

> What manner of men brought it into being? They must have been men of burning faith; their beliefs had been systematically worked out; they were deeply stirred and illuminated by the new faith.[1]

By this "new faith," however, Doresse means, not the traditional Jewish-Christian faith which presumably was directly connected with Thomas, but "a form of Christianity which was profoundly influenced by Hellenic philosophy and excessively subtle in its conceptions."[2] In fact, according to Doresse, what gives the Gospel of Thomas its real individuality is "philosophical and mystical notions inherited from hellenic philosophy and particularly from Platonism."[3]

Considering all that is said by Doresse, portions of which have just been quoted and referred to, it is difficult to imagine what sort of picture he would give to the course of development which Thomas might have taken as it traveled from Edessa to Upper Egypt. Except for the date and place of its origin, there is in his presentation nothing that adds materially to the knowledge that is essential for the proper understanding of Thomas' literary evolution. Even the "three aspects" suggested by him are hard to fit into any chronological or geographical scheme that would be needed for further clarification concerning the process of transmission of Thomas' text during the presumed two and a half centuries of its growth.

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[1] Ibid., p. 352.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 349.

Furthermore, the philosophico-mystical ideas inspired by Platonism, which are supposed to be what makes Thomas unique, are not necessarily deducible from those logia in Thomas to which Doresse appeals for the support of his thesis.[1] Those logia may rather be interpreted in a manner quite different from that in which Doresse understands them, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters. Thus it is evident that Doresse does not furnish enough materials on the basis of which one might trace any probable course of literary development which the Gospel of Thomas may have followed.

W. C. van Unnik only mentions that the Gospel of Thomas "comes from Syria and probably from some bilingual locality," without specifying the precise city or region.[2] So far as date is concerned, he states that "this collection must have been completed at the latest by about AD 170."[3] He does say that the preservation in Thomas of "certain traditions--Jewish-Christian traditions especially--independent of the synoptic tradition," cannot a priori be ruled out as an impossibility.[4] Yet, for the reconstruction of the overall picture of the literary development of Thomas, he has little to offer.

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[1] The following logia are specifically mentioned by Doresse in this connection: Log. 2, 22, 37, 56, 80, 83, 84, 114; ibid.

[2] Van Unnik, Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings, p. 49.

[3] Ibid., p. 50.

[4] Ibid., p. 56.

Bertil Gärtner is extremely critical of any theory which entertains the possibility of finding in Thomas an "independent tradition," "genuine sayings of Jesus," or "Jewish-Christian elements." He believes that the Gospel of Thomas was born out of a Gnostic milieu, far removed from that of the canonical New Testament. He writes thus:

> At the time when the Gospel of Thomas is supposed to have originated, there existed connections between Alexandria, Rome and Syria, all influenced by Gnostic ideas; it is in these currents that I consider that the Gospel of Thomas should be placed.[1]

He has no objection to the generally accepted date of Thomas' origin, i.e., A.D. 140-150.[2] Of key importance in Gärtner's system are the three geographical localities he mentions, namely, Alexandria, Rome, and Syria. As Gärtner sees them, these are represented by three great heresiarchs. These were Valentinus, who was educated in Alexandria and lived in Rome about 136-165; Marcion, who flourished in Rome about 140-160; and Cerdo, the Syrian Gnostic who taught in Rome about 140 and was Marcion's teacher. However, Gärtner does not specify the country of Thomas' origin. For him, Thomas was born a Gnostic document and remained such throughout its history. All in all, Gärtner has nothing specifically significant to contribute toward widening the necessary foundation on which to build a satisfactory theory about the literary development of the Gospel of Thomas.

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[1] Bertil Gärtner, The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas, trans. Eric J. Sharpe (London: Collins, 1961), p. 272. This book will be referred to hereafter as: Gärtner.

[2] Ibid.

Similarly, for R. M. Grant and D. N. Freedman, the Gospel of Thomas is significant only because it "shows how Gnostics understood, or rather, misunderstood, Jesus and his Gospel." They continue to write thus:

> It is probably our most significant witness to the early perversion of Christianity by those who wanted to create Jesus in their own image. Thus it stands, like Lot's wife, as a new but permanently valuable witness to men's desire to make God's revelation serve them. Ultimately it testifies not to what Jesus said but to what men wished he had said.[1]

This statement sufficiently sums up their basic attitude toward the Gospel of Thomas as it is expounded in their book.

Admittedly, Grant and Freedman are not unaware of the fact that there are Greek counterparts of the Coptic Thomas. Accordingly, referring to the name of the alleged author of the sayings-collection as preserved in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment No. 654, i.e., "Judas Thomas," they hint that Thomas' Gospel may have undergone something of a historical development. They state:

> Perhaps we can begin to recover the prehistory of the Gospel of Thomas. It may be that before it reached its present state it was available in a less Gnostic, more "orthodox" form.[2]

Grant and Freedman further acknowledge that "in the Coptic version we are not dealing with the original form of the gospel, but more probably with a version which has been Gnosticized. The Greek version is less Gnostic than the Coptic."[3]

Beyond this, however, they register no further thought. They apparently identify the Greek version of Thomas, represented by the Oxyrhynchus Fragments, as "the original form of the gospel [of Thomas]." The question, then, is: Is "the prehistory" of the Gospel of Thomas exhausted at this point, or should it be traced further back, perhaps to the place of origin of that particular form of the name of the apostle Thomas, "Judas Thomas," which is Syria?

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 20; cf. also p. 89.

[2] Ibid., p. 68; cf. also p. 71.

[3] Ibid., p. 71.

Like most others, Grant and Freedman also accept Edessa as the probable place of Thomas' origin.[1] Why then do they not go all the way back to that locality, instead of terminating their investigation at Oxyrhynchus? To show how incomplete they left their pursuit, their concluding remark may be quoted, which reads as follows:

> The Gospel of Thomas is largely based on the Church's gospels.[2] While more of its materials come from Matthew and Luke than from John, its point of view is more like that of John. It goes far beyond John, however, because its contents have been immersed in Gnosticism; it first emerges as a sacred writing of the Naassenes. Originally it may have been a kind of harmony of sayings of Jesus, some of a semi-Gnostic type. By the end of the second century, however, it had been taken over by the Gnostics and edited to suit their purposes.[3]

From what is stated here, as well as elsewhere in their book, it is hard to visualize just what Grant and Freedman had in mind when they spoke about the original "harmony of sayings of Jesus," or about the new version as revised by the Gnostics before "the end of the second century." In any event, Grant and Freedman make no attempt to deal with the problems relating to the supposed initial composition of Thomas at Edessa about the middle of the second century, as will be discussed in the following chapters of this dissertation. These scholars take great pains in exploring the possible "environment" of the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas.[1] Nothing, however, is done about the environment surrounding the earliest edition of Thomas in Edessa. Consequently, Grant and Freedman do not provide much assistance to the investigator whose interest is primarily in reconstructing the probable course of the literary development of the Gospel of Thomas.

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[1] Ibid., p. 67.

[2] Note that the theory of an "independent tradition" in Thomas is hereby frankly denied. This is an attitude typical of more recent studies in Thomas, compared with the earlier ones (e.g., Leipoldt, Quispel, Puech, and others). To this newer tendency of insisting on Thomas' dependence upon the canonical Gospels, Wilson has raised a moderate objection; see R. McLachlan Wilson, Studies in the Gospel of Thomas (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1960), passim. This book by Wilson will hereafter be referred to as: Wilson.

[3] Grant-Freedman, p. 116.

R. McLachlan Wilson pays some attention to "a series of revisions" which Thomas may well have undergone.[2] He is in agreement with Grant and Freedman that the Gospel of Thomas in its present form is "a Gnostic work."[3] However, he regards the Gnostic or Gnosticizing elements in Thomas as secondary. Thus the primary question for him is "whether it is possible to recover a more primitive form underneath, a form which may even prove, perhaps, independent of our Gospels."[4]

Such a task, needless to say, is by no means an easy one. Wilson **has reminded** the reader of this fact by stating as follows:

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[1] Ibid., pp. 74-93, Chap. V: "The Environment of Thomas."

[2] Wilson, p. 9.

[3] Ibid., pp. 14-44, Chap. II.

[4] Ibid., p. 44.

> It must be remembered that our present Coptic text is probably a translation of a translation, and in both versions it has been subjected to the vagaries of the scribe; moreover, the sayings have passed through a process of oral tradition, whether or not they are derived from our Gospels, and were originally uttered neither in Greek nor in Coptic, but in Aramaic. When we add the probability of redaction at the hands of one or more editors, who had ends of their own in view, the difficulties in the path of the investigator are manifest.[1]

Perhaps because of these great difficulties which he has foreseen, Wilson does not fully explore the possibility of putting all his valuable observations into one scheme so as to present his total view on how the Gospel of Thomas was first composed and subsequently passed through various stages until it finally became rendered into Coptic.

Wilson, however, refers to a theory briefly proposed by Kasser.[2] The core of the Gospel of Thomas, according to Kasser, was probably a Gnostic hymn. To this have been added various glosses of diverse origin, serving by way of commentary. To this, later, have been added extracts from the New Testament. Finally, another more purely Gnostic element was added, this time with a polemical tinge reflecting a period of conflict between Christianity and Gnosticism.[3]

Wilson appears to be especially anxious to see this hypothesis fully developed. It has the merit, in Wilson's view, "of trying to see the development of the document against the background of the relations of Church and Gnosis."[1] Such a theory, as Wilson feels, could have certain advantages by way of clarifying the Coptic end of the literary history of Thomas. However, it seems to the present writer that Kasser's theory fails when it comes to accounting for the Jewish-Christian elements that are evident in so many of Thomas' logia, as will be illustrated in the following chapters.

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[1] Ibid., p. 62.

[2] Ibid., p. 150.

[3] Rodolphe Kasser, "Les manuscrits de Nag'Hammadi: faits, documents, problèmes," Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie (Lausanne, 1959), pp. 365ff.

The Jewish-Christian background of the Gospel of Thomas has been noted by some scholars, of whom three may be mentioned. Otto Piper has observed that Thomas ultimately goes back to a Jewish-Christian group, probably in Egypt. These people originally relied on the oral tradition of the primitive Church, but made their own collection of Jesus' logia. Subsequently, they supplemented it with additional materials taken from the canonical documents.[2]

Oscar Cullmann begins with recognizing that the last redactor, clearly, is a Gnostic, with strong Encratite tendency, who was closely connected with the form of Gnosticism known especially from Syria.[3] The present Coptic Thomas was produced by that Gnostic redactor. It is, however, not only a translation but at the same time an edition which even intensifies the Gnostic tendency. All this means that the Coptic Thomas has a history behind it. Thus it becomes necessary to reckon with "a strictly Jewish-Christian collection" ("eine streng judenchristliche Sammlung"), as he puts it.[1] This is a Greek version of Thomas which preceded the present Coptic Thomas. This early Greek collection was composed probably about the middle of the second century in Syria or northern Mesopotamia.[2]

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[1] Wilson, p. 150.

[2] Otto Piper, "The Gospel of Thomas," Princeton Seminary Bulletin, LIII (1959), pp. 18ff.

[3] Oscar Cullmann, "Das Thomasevangelium und die Frage nach dem Alter der in ihm enthaltenen Tradition," Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXXV (May, 1960), col. 327.

According to Cullmann, however, the Jewish-Christianity here referred to is one that was already tinged with Gnosticism. It was the kind of Jewish-Christianity current among the early Christians dwelling in Transjordan, which was responsible also for the pseudo-Clementine literature.[3] Cullmann thus concludes that underneath the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas already lie older Gnostic elements, the oldest of which originated from Jewish-Christian circles.[4] Whether or not there stands behind these older collections a still older, non-Gnostic collection, cannot be determined at present. However, such a possibility, according to Cullmann, cannot be ruled out entirely, particularly since there are various circumstantial evidences which point in that direction.[5]

Finally, Gilles Quispel has published a series of articles dealing with the Gospel of Thomas. One of the major theses he is trying to prove in these articles is that the Gospel of the Hebrews is the common source of the pseudo-Clementine literature, the Diatessaron of Tatian, and the Gospel of Thomas.[1] In the earliest of his articles, originally delivered as a lecture at Oxford on September 18, 1957, Quispel directs his attention to some of Thomas' logia which are also found in the pseudo-Clementine writings (e.g., Log. 16, 32, 39, 54, 76), the Gospel of the Nazaraeans (Log. 104), and the Gospel of the Ebionites (Log. 99). Now, according to Quispel, all these apocryphal writings are "Jewish-Christian" in origin, the Gospels of the Nazaraeans and of the Ebionites being "just recensions of an underlying Gospel of the Hebrews."[2] The logical conclusion, then, is that Thomas, like Tatian, borrowed from a Jewish-Christian source, "which for reasons of convenience may be called by its traditional name: 'the Gospel according to the Hebrews'."[3]

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[1] *Ibid*., col. 328.

[2] *Ibid*., col. 327.

[3] Cullmann has made a study of the pseudo-Clementine literature with special reference to the relationship between Jewish-Christianity and Gnosticism in his *Le problème littéraire et historique du roman pseudo-Clementin: Etude sur le rapport entre le judeo-christianisme et le gnosticisme* (1930). More recently, a similar study was made by Georg Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudo-Klementinen* ("Texte und Untersuchungen," 70; 1958).

[4] Cullmann, *art. cit*., col. 331.

[5] *Ibid*.

This basic Jewish-Christian Gospel of the Hebrews, Quispel further states, is supposed to be a writing of Palestinian origin.[4] He maintains that it was used by "the descendants of the primitive community of Jerusalem, who seem to have lived on in Palestine almost completely isolated from the main stream of Gentile Christian tradition."[1]

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[1] Gilles Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," VC, XI (1957), pp. 189-207; "L'Evangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines," VC, XII (1958), pp. 181-96; "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," New Testament Studies, V (1959), pp. 276ff.; "L'Evangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron," VC, XIII (1959), pp. 87ff.; "L'Evangile selon Thomas et le 'Texte Occidental' du Nouveau Testament," VC, XIV (1960), pp. 204-15.

[2] Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the N. T.," p. 191.

[3] Ibid., p. 194.

[4] Ibid., p. 190.

Having surveyed what these three scholars have proposed, it should now be noted that they are not unanimous with regard to the character and scope of the "Jewish-Christianity" concerning which they speak. Moreover, they have not worked out their theses in detail so as to present a balanced reconstruction of the probable literary evolution of the Gospel of Thomas. The present writer finds himself in basic agreement with these scholars in recognizing Jewish-Christian backgrounds of the Gospel of Thomas. He must, however, disagree with Piper who assigns to "Egypt" the location of the Jewish-Christian group of Christians who produced the original Thomas. It hardly seems possible to eliminate Edessa (or at least Syria) completely from any consideration in pursuing a historical study of the Gospel of Thomas.

With regard to Cullmann's notion that the Jewish-Christianity in Transjordan, which he presumes to lie behind Thomas, had already been immersed in Gnosticism, the present writer wishes to point out that the issue surrounding the nature of Jewish-Christianity between, say, A.D. 70 and 135 is still far from being settled. As Cullmann himself suggests, there is still the possibility that the earliest edition of Thomas was basically a non-Gnostic collection of logia attributed to Jesus. If so, this possibility should by all means be explored.

The chief difficulty with Quispel's thesis is that the Gospel of the Hebrews is postulated as the source of Thomas. It seems to the present writer equally possible to reverse this order of relationship and assume that the earliest edition of Thomas was an underlying source of the Gospel of the Hebrews and other writings mentioned by Quispel. In fact, all the evidences presented by him in support of his thesis can be utilized as evidences for reverse influence in the opposite direction, as just pointed out.

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[1] Ibid., p. 191.

In the foregoing pages, various views held by the leading scholars on the subject of the literary history of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas have been brought under review. It should be clear that there is no agreement among these authorities concerning the issue under examination. Although there is today an urgent need for it, virtually no effort has yet been made at a definitive solution. Thus it appears that a synthetic and systematic, rather than fragmentary and sporadic, attempt at reconstructing the course which the Gospel of Thomas is believed to have taken in its literary growth is very much overdue and needed.

It is significant that all scholars who have worked on this matter agree that the problem, which is the chief concern of this dissertation, is by no means an easy one. The fact that there exists a wide variety of diverse opinions points to the highly complex nature of the question under discussion. The issue thus awaits further careful treatment. One such attempt will be presented in the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER VI

THE "UR-THOMAS"

This chapter is intended to deal with the hypothesis concerning the earliest edition of the Gospel of Thomas as may be discerned from available facts. The writer assumes that behind the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas there was a primitive collection of logia allegedly spoken by Jesus. This original document, it is further assumed, was composed before the middle of the second century by the Jewish-Christians who were residing in the city of Edessa in northeastern Syria. For want of any better designation, this presumed body of logia is referred to in this dissertation by the term "Ur-Thomas."

The "Ur-Thomas" seems to have contained most of the logia that are found in the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas. This original collection, it is also believed, was preceded by an introductory sentence. This is indicated by a careful examination of the Prologue to the Coptic Thomas, which reads as follows:

> These are the secret words which the Living Jesus spoke and Didymos Judas Thomas wrote.
>
> Prologue (80.10-12)

It was concluded in Chapter III that the strange triple name, "Didymos Judas Thomas," probably was brought into existence as a result of a combination, in Alexandria, of two distinct early

Christian traditions concerning the apostle Thomas: one the "western" (Ephesian) "Thomas Didymos," and the other the "eastern" (Edessene) "Judas Thomas." From the occurrence of this triple name in the Coptic Prologue, one might draw a conclusion that the Prologue itself, or even the entire book which it introduces, should be regarded as originating in Alexandria.

This, however, must be criticized as a hasty conclusion. The main objection comes from the fact that one of the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments, numbered 654, carries the Syrian double name, "Judas Thomas," in its introductory passage. This fragment has unanimously been considered as coming from a Greek version of the Gospel of Thomas. The existence in this Greek manuscript of the Syrian name "Judas Thomas," therefore, provides unmistakable evidence that the Gospel of Thomas, at one time or another in its literary evolution, bore this form of Thomas' name, i.e., "Judas Thomas."

A detailed comparison between the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas and the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments will be given in the subsequent Chapter VII. Suffice it to say at this point that, despite the fact that the Coptic Prologue contains the Alexandrian triple name, the variant reading in the corresponding Greek fragment necessarily carries the history of the literary growth of the Gospel of Thomas back to Syria, or more specifically, to Edessa.

Thus it should be concluded that the "Ur-Thomas" was begun with an introductory sentence, which was identical with the Coptic Prologue, except for the name of the alleged author of the document. The "Ur-Thomas," in other words, presumably carried as its author the name of "Judas Thomas," not "Didymos Judas Thomas" as in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. This conclusion also supports the assumption that the place of origin of the "Ur-Thomas" was Edessa, rather than any other locality in the ancient Christian world.

This leads to the next question as to the character of the presumed "Ur-Thomas" preceded by an introduction such as just discussed. Since the content of the introductory sentence of the "Ur-Thomas" appears to have been virtually the same as that of the Coptic Prologue, the question may be worded also in this way: What clue does the Coptic Prologue provide to understanding the real nature of the Gospel of Thomas?

Some scholars have argued that the Prologue already indicates the precise character of the book which it precedes. According to their view, the Gospel of Thomas, first and foremost, must be regarded as a "Gnostic" work. Thus Puech, in his article dealing with the "Gnostic Gospels and Related Documents" in the latest edition of Hennecke's New Testament Apocrypha, calls attention to the significance of the Coptic Prologue by stating as follows:

> The preamble [i.e., Prologue] . . . warns us as to the nature of the work which it introduces. . . . It defines the character or the purpose of the document: it is esoteric, or intended to be so considered, and contains secret utterances, concealed from the uninitiate . . . [1]

Similarly, Gärtner begins his chapter devoted to the discussion of the matters relating to the Prologue by declaring that "it is already clear from the words of the prologue that we are dealing with a Gnostic gospel tradition."[2]

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[1] Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 286.

[2] Gärtner, p. 95; cf. also Wilson, p. 26.

In support of this contention, Gärtner refers the reader to some half dozen quotations from such extra-canonical writings as the Pistis Sophia, the Acts of Thomas, and the Book of Thomas the Athlete.[1] He emphasizes that in these passages the apostle Thomas is presented as "the one who is particularly trusted, and the one who is the bearer of Jesus' secret teaching." Then he goes on to state as follows:

> The important fact is not that he is a normal bearer of the Gospel traditions, as is the case with the canonical Gospels, but that he has been initiated into the secret knowledge which Jesus mediated and which lay hidden in common words. Jesus has spoken the words to him, and he is therefore their custodian.[2]

Furthermore, Gärtner sees the significance of the triple name in the Coptic Prologue in that it characterizes the "Gnostic" or "gnosticizing" nature of the Prologue.[3] This triple form of Thomas' name, according to him, is "a combination of names which is most familiar in Gnostic context."[4]

The previous study, in Chapter III, of the history behind the triple name, however, shows that these statements by Gärtner are extremely difficult to maintain. He further states that "in Gnostic or gnosticising circles" Thomas has "two surnames: Didymos--meaning 'twin'--and Judas."[5] This thesis, however, is based on no evidence whatever.

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[1] Specifically cited by Gärtner are: Pistis Sophia 42 and 43; Acts of Thomas (Greek) 39 and 78; Book of Thomas the Athlete (quoted in Doresse, p. 225; Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 307).

[2] Gärtner, p. 97.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

Even if it can be shown, as Gärtner intends to do, that Thomas plays an important role as the bearer of special tradition "mainly in Gnostic and Manichaean circles,"[1] this by no means settles the whole issue regarding the nature of the Prologue. A careful examination of the Prologue itself, moreover, will reveal that there is in fact no need to interpret it only within the framework of the "Gnostic" or "Manichaean" thought-systems.

In the following pages, therefore, an attempt will be made to see if the Prologue to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas contains any element that is distinctly "Gnostic" or "Manichaean," i.e., anything that goes against the traditional Jewish-Christian teachings. In order to do this, it is necessary to take a closer look at the Prologue itself, particularly at the two key phrases contained in it: "the living Jesus" and "the secret words." In the process, attention will also be directed to other logia that may show their affinities, in language or in thought, to these phrases just mentioned.

* * *

First, note must be taken of the expression "the living Jesus," or more literally, "Jesus, the living one" (Ⲓ̄Ⲥ̄ ⲈⲦⲞⲚϨ). To scholars like Gärtner, this phrase is in essence "Gnostic" or even "Manichaean."

Admittedly, it is not difficult to find passages in Gnostic or Manichaean writings which have this designation. For example, the epithet "the living" is used of Jesus in the Coptic First Book of Jeu:[1] "The living Jesus has through the Father proceeded from the aeon of light"; or: "The living Jesus has taught his apostles that doctrine apart from which there is no other . . ."[2] The formula, "Jesus, the living one, answered and said," is frequently found in the same Coptic document. The opening portion of this work may be cited in full:

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[1] Ibid., p. 95.

> Jesus, the living one, answered and said to his apostles: Blessed is he who has crucified the world, and has not allowed the world to crucify him. The apostles answered with one voice, saying: Lord teach us the way to crucify the world, that it may not crucify us, and we perish and lose our life. Jesus, the living one, answered and said: He who has crucified the world is he who has found my word, and has fulfilled it after the will of him who sent me. The apostles answered, saying: Speak to us, Lord, that we may hear thee. We have followed thee with all our heart, have left father and mother, have left vineyard and field, have left our goods, have left the king's glory and have followed thee, that thou mightest teach us the life of thy Father who hath sent thee. Jesus, the living one, answered and said: This is the life of my Father, that ye receive your soul from the race of reason, and it cease to be earthly and become wise through that which I say unto you in the course of my words, that ye may complete it and be delivered before the Archon of this aeon and his snares, which have no end. But you are my disciples, make haste to receive my word carefully to yourselves, that ye may know it, that the Archon of this aeon may not strive with you, he who hath found none of his commands in me, and that ye yourselves, O my apostles, may fulfil my word in relation to me, and I myself may make you free, and ye may become whole through a freedom wherein is no blemish. As the Spirit of the Comforter is whole, so shall ye also become whole through the freedom of the Spirit of the holy

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[1] The Two Books of Jeu, contained in the "Codex Brucianus" at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, were probably composed originally in Greek, in Egypt, at the early part of the third century. According to Puech, they were derived, like the Pistis Sophia, from "a circle of 'Gnostics' (in the narrow sense) or Barbelo-Gnostics with Encratite tendencies"; Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 260.

[2] Quoted in Gärtner, p. 98; cf. also the entry, "Jesus, der lebendige," in the Index of Schmidt-Till, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften, I (GCS 45; 1954), p. 409.

> Comforter. All the apostles answered with one voice, Matthew and John, Philip and Bartholomew and James, saying: *Lord Jesus, thou living one*, whose goodness is spread abroad upon those who have found his wisdom and his form, in which he shines--O Light, that is in the light which has illumined our heart until we received the light of life--O true word, which through knowledge teaches us the hidden knowledge of the *Lord Jesus, the living one*. *Jesus, the living one, answered and said*: Blessed is the man who knoweth this, and has brought the heaven down, and carried the earth and sent it to heaven, and he became the Midst, for it is nothing. The apostles answered, saying: *Jesus, thou living one*, O Lord, explain to us in what way one may bring down the heaven, for we have followed thee, that thou mightest teach us the true light.[1]

The epithet is not uncommon also in other documents including Manichaean writings.[2] It is interesting to note in this connection that the Gospel composed by Manes himself is called "The Living Gospel" (τὸ ζῶν εὐαγγέλιον).[3] According to Puech, the expression "the living," used in this case as well as in the form often found in the Manichaean language, "was inherited from Gnosticism."[4] He took the term as attesting the divine origin and nature of the document to which it is attached. Puech reports a tradition according to which Manes, anxious to prove his prophetic claims in writing his "Gospel," said: "This book has come down from heaven."[5] Thus the nature of the "Gospel of Manes" is commented upon by Puech as follows:

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[1] *First Book of Jeu* 1-3. This translation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 261-62 (underline by the present writer).

[2] Puech refers to the following passages: Irenaeus *Adv. haer*. i. 14. 2; the anonymous work in the "Codex Brucianus," published by Schmidt-Till, *op. cit*., p. 362, line 11; *Acts of Thomas*, 60, 129, and 169; cf. also the Manichaean *Psalm-Book* (ed. C. R. C. Allberry), p. 55, line 17; Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 261, n. 1.

[3] For further information, see Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 355-56.

[4] Puech, *loc. cit*., p. 356.

[5] *Ibid*.

> It means in any case that the work brought to its readers a message of regenerating truth, which could bring about and accomplish their spiritual resurrection and thus procure for them salvation: this "Gospel of Life" or "Living Gospel" is above all a "life-giving Gospel."[1]

To those who take the Gnosticist point of view, it seems apparent that the phrase "the living," when used of Jesus, is intended to emphasize (using Gnostic phraseology) the nature of Jesus as coming from the heavenly world. The Jesus, who speaks of the world of light in which truth and life are to be found, is not the "earthly" Jesus but the "heavenly" one. The Gnosticists think this is what is meant by the "living Jesus," as the phrase is used in the Prologue to the _Gospel of Thomas_. In light of this conclusion, Gärtner made the following judgment on the issue:

> The epithet "the living" when coupled with the name of Jesus is largely Gnostic terminology, and refers to the Risen Jesus.[2]

It has often been assumed that the aforementioned evidence proves the "Gnostic" or "Manichaean" character of the Prologue to the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_. Yet one cannot ignore the fact that the same epithet is present in the Old and New Testaments as well. Should those passages in the Bible, where the phrase "the living" occurs, be interpreted in terms of "Gnosticism" or "Manichaeism" also?

It may be argued that in the Bible the phrase "the living" is "the title of honor . . . accorded to God and not . . . to Jesus."[3]

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[1] _Ibid_.

[2] Gärtner, p. 98.

[3] _Ibid_., p. 99.

Certainly, partial evidences for this contention can be found without difficulty.[1] "The living Father" in John 6:57 is also in line with this standing concept of God in the Bible as being "the living one."

Yet there are in the New Testament a few passages in which the use of the same epithet does not completely match the idea just mentioned. For example, there are such passages as: "a living stone" (I Peter 2:4); "the living water" (John 4:10, 11); and "the living bread" (John 6:51). There is above all a passage in the Revelation of John which certainly makes a clear exception to the seemingly general rule on the use of the epithet referred to above. Here in this canonical Apocalypse under the name of John, "one like a son of man" (Revelation 1:13) speaks the following words:

> Fear not, I am the first and the last, and the living one; I died, and behold I am alive for evermore, and I have the keys of Death and Hades.[2]

Along with this remarkable passage may be cited one from the Lukan Resurrection narrative. Here again the epithet is used of the Risen Christ rather than of God: "Why seek ye the living one with the dead ones?" (Luke 24:5)

The question then is: How did it happen that the epithet, originally reserved for God alone, came later to be applied to Jesus as well? Presumably it was because Jesus, who had died, was believed by the early Christians to have conquered death by his resurrection, and since then he "lives for ever and ever."[1] In this way, the title began to be conferred upon Jesus as well as God.

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[1] The phrase "the living God" occurs, for example, in the following Biblical passages: Deut. 5:26; Josh. 3:10; I Sam. 17:26, 36; II Kings 19:4, 16; Ps. 42:2; 84:2; Isa. 37:4, 17; Jer. 10:10; 23:36; Dan. 6:20, 26; Hos. 1:10; Matt. 16:16; 26:63; Acts 14:15; Rom. 9:26; II Cor. 3:3; 6:16; I Tim. 3:15; 4:10; Heb. 3:12; 9:14; 10:31; 12:22; Rev. 7:2.

[2] Rev. 1:17, 18.

In the course of time, this epithet apparently won great favor among those early Christians who were specially interested in speculating as to what happened to Jesus during the period between his resurrection and ascension.

In this connection, it is to be noted that there was already within the early Church great interest in the period following Jesus' resurrection. This is evident from the fact that a number of stories about Jesus appearing to his disciples and teaching them during that period are preserved even in the canonical Gospels and Acts. It was only natural, therefore, that some early Christians should have taken cue from those canonical accounts on the post-resurrection period and speculatively fabricated many more stories about what Jesus did and what he taught during his post-resurrection days among them.

A glance at various post-resurrection narratives recorded in the canonical Gospels and Acts, as well as in some of the apocryphal writings, will enable the investigator to trace the line of interesting developments in the early Christian traditions concerning the length of the period of time between the resurrection and the ascension of Jesus.

The Gospel of Mark, generally considered to be the earliest of the canonical Gospels, implies that Jesus appeared to his disciples in Galilee (Mark 16:7). This suggests that there were at least a few days following the resurrection--a period of time enough to make a trip from Jerusalem of Galilee. *Mark* presents some complications due to the fact that it has three different endings. The so-called "longer ending," when printed, covers Mark 16:9-20. Here three references are found: (1) "the first day of the week" on which Jesus rose (verse 9); (2) "after this" (verse 12); and (3) "afterwards" (verse 14). The ascension of Jesus is also mentioned in verse 19: "So then the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken to them, was taken up into heaven." From these references, one may infer that the ascension could have taken place late at night on the same day as the resurrection. Beyond this, however, there is no clue to the actual length of time between the resurrection and the ascension, on account of the fact that the "longer ending" does not provide any ground for mathematical calculation.

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[1] Rev. 4:9; 10:6.

The "shorter ending," found in some manuscripts,[1] reads as follows:

> But they reported promptly to those around Peter all that they had been told. And after this, Jesus himself sent out by means of them, from east to west, the sacred and imperishable proclamation of eternal salvation.

Evidently, this ending makes no mention of the ascension or of any time elements, thus proving entirely valueless for present purposes.

After Mark 16:14 of the "longer ending," the fifth-century "Washington (Freer) Manuscript" (W) has a gloss known as the "Freer ending." It reads as follows:

> And they replied saying, "This age of lawlessness and unbelief

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[1] L ψ 099 0112 274^{mg} 579 k sy^{hmg} sa.

> is under Satan who by means of unclean spirits does not allow men to comprehend the true power of God; therefore reveal now Thy righteousness." Thus they spoke to Christ; and Christ answered them, "The limit of the years of the authority of Satan is fulfilled; but other horrors draw near and for the sake of them that sinned was I delivered unto death that they might return to the truth and sin no more; that they might inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory of righteousness which is in heaven.

This reading, again, is unable to furnish any concrete evidence so far as the present study is concerned. Thus all one can gather from _Mark_ is that the resurrection was followed by a period of just _one day_ or _a few days_, depending on which reading is followed.

The _Gospel of Matthew_, like _Mark_, also assumes that Jesus went to Galilee after his resurrection, as recorded in 28:16: "Now the eleven disciples went to Galilee, to the mountain to which Jesus had directed them. And when they saw him they worshiped him." The implication, then, is that there was a period of at least _a few days_ after the resurrection during which Jesus appeared to his disciples. Beyond this, _Matthew_ keeps silent about Jesus' ascension, nor does it provide any information on the time duration prior to it.

The _Gospel of Luke_ speaks of Jesus' appearance to two people on their way to Emmaus (24:13-35), and then to the disciples in Jerusalem (verses 36-49). It is clear from the way _Luke_ wrote that these two events both took place on the same day as Jesus was resurrected. This is suggested by such phrases as "that very day" (24:13), "as they were saying this" (24:36), and "then" (24:50).

Furthermore, on the evening of the same day, Jesus took them to Bethany and blessed them. "While he was blessing them," so the Lukan accounts go, "he parted from them" (24:52). This is the reading found in some manuscripts (such as א D it vg sy^{s}), and has been adopted by the Revised Standard Version and more recently by the New English Bible. It is clear, however, that there is no mention of the ascension in this reading.

According to another variant reading of the same passage, attested by a number of equally important manuscripts (such as A B C W Θ λ φ ℜ sy^{p} sa bo), the following words are added to the passage just quoted: "and was carried up into heaven." This is the reading printed in the King James Version, the Revised Version, and the American Standard Version.

The question, then, is: Which of these two readings should be followed? If the first reading, without additional words, is to be accepted, then *Luke* obviously offers no hint regarding the length of time subsequent to the resurrection, because there is no mention of the ascension here, unless "he parted from them" is forced to mean it. If, on the other hand, the longer reading is to be followed, then it becomes clear that the resurrection and the ascension occurred on the same day, the latter having taken place at Bethany. In either case, *one day* seems all that *Luke* suggests.

The *Gospel of John*, the latest of all the canonical Gospels, contains more verses than any other Gospels in the New Testament on the post-resurrection events. It records three appearances of the risen Christ to the disciples after the first Easter morning: (1) on the evening of the same Easter day, he appeared to them except Thomas (20:19ff.); (2) "eight days later" (20:26) he again appeared to them, this time including Thomas; and (3) "after this" (21:1) he appeared to them by the Sea of Tiberius. The Evangelist himself commented on the last-mentioned occasion by saying: "This was now the third time that Jesus was revealed to the disciples after he was raised from the dead" (21:14). Since this last appearance is to be distinguished from the previous two, as "just as day was breaking" and "breakfast" (21:4, 12) seem to suggest, it is fairly certain that this Evangelist had in mind a period of "eight days" and a few more days (necessary for a journey to the "Sea of Tiberius") combined. This, however, does not indicate exactly how long the post-resurrection period lasted, since this Gospel fails to mention the ascension.

The Acts of the Apostles appears to offer more information than any of the canonical Gospels on the ascension and the period preceding it. Acts 1:9-12 is virtually the only place in the New Testament where the ascension is described in some detail. Here also it is explicitly said that the risen Jesus appeared to the apostles "during forty days" (Acts 1:3), "until the day when he was taken up" (1:2). Furthermore, the place of the ascension is given in this book precisely as "the mount called Olivet, which is near Jerusalem, a sabbath day's journey away" (1:12).

The reason for selecting "forty days" as the length of the interval between the resurrection and the ascension is probably because the focus of attention, for the author of Acts, was the activity of the Holy Spirit, and the ascension was regarded as prerequisite to the gift of the Holy Spirit. The number "forty" possibly was chosen to give a ten-day margin between the ascension and Pentecost, following the pattern already developed in the cases of the ascension of Ezra (IV Ezra 14:23, 49), of Baruch (II Baruch 76), and of Abraham (Apocalypse of Abraham 9, 12).

Once this figure had been established, it was only natural that the period of time between the resurrection and the ascension became referred to sometimes simply as "*many days*." Such was the case in Paul's sermon at Antioch of Pisidia, in which he said: "God raised him from the dead; and for *many days* he appeared to those who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses to the people" (Acts 13:30-31).

Subsequently, this forty-day period became further extended so as to accommodate all the words and deeds presumably related to the last phase of Jesus' earthly ministry. The Valentinians and the Ophites, according to Irenaeus,[1] extended it to "*eighteen months*." In one of the Nag Hammadi manuscripts, the *Apocryphon of James*, it is recorded that Jesus was with the disciples for "*five hundred and fifty days*" after the resurrection.[2] Finally, most remarkable of all is the *Pistis Sophia*, of which the first lines read as follows:

> But it came to pass, after Jesus was risen from the dead, that he spent *eleven years* discoursing with his disciples and taught them.[3]

Thus there is nothing surprising that some of the extracanonical writings claim to consist entirely of the teachings presumably spoken by Jesus after the resurrection. One notable example is the document known as the *Epistle of the Apostles*, an early second-century anti-Gnostic writing, which contains in its fifty-one chapters the record of conversations between the risen Christ and the eleven disciples, as mentioned earlier in Chapter III.

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[1] Irenaeus *Adv. haer*. i. 3. 2 and 30. 14.

[2] Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 336.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 252 (underline by the present writer).

Coming back to the discussion of the phrase "the living" as applied to Jesus, it should be borne in mind that behind this expression lay that early Christian belief in the ever-living Christ which in the course of time gave rise to all sorts of pious speculations about the particular period of time between the resurrection and the ascension of Jesus. True, the "Gnostics" and "Manichaeans" eventually became specially interested in the epithet "the living" and began to employ it in their way. However, the mere occurrence of that title given to Jesus in their writings by no means provides a certain clue to determining the character of a passage or a document in which it is also found.

One may argue, with Gärtner, that use of the same epithet of both God and Jesus, already discernible in the New Testament, brings about a "levelling out" (Gärtner's term) of the distinction between the two. He thinks this was in the orbit of advanced Gnosticism which meant to obscure the precise relationship between God and Jesus, the Father and the Son--a phenomenon characteristic of the "Gnostic" thought-pattern. Referring to expressions such as: "O God, Jesus, the father of them that are above the heavens,"[1] and other similar passages in some of the apocryphal Acts,[2] Gärtner concluded as follows:

> The basic idea behind these forms of expression is that "Father," "Son" and other names are merely descriptions of one and the same ineffable Divine Being.[3]

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[1] Acts of John 112. Cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher II, p. 175.

[2] E.g., Acts of Thomas 169; Acts of John 77 and 98; Acts of Peter (Actus Vercellenses) 20. Cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher II, pp. 372, 170, 157, 207.

[3] Gärtner, pp. 100-101.

This may well be so in the case of a fully developed Gnostic system, but it is questionable if the same is true with the epithet "the living" applied to Jesus as it stands in the Prologue to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. If one accepts Gärtner's argument that the context of the Prologue witnesses to the specifically "Gnostic" use of the epithet,[1] one should also be willing to go so far as to label many parts, if not the whole, of the New Testament as "Gnostic."

It should be noted that this phrase "the living" occurs several times in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas itself in a manner which is more in line with the general Biblical usage than with the so-called "Gnostic" or "Manichaean" pattern of thought. First of all, the phrase is used of Jesus, as in the Prologue, in the following three logia:

> His disciples said to Him: Twenty-four prophets spoke in Israel and they all spoke about Thee.
> He said to them: You have dismissed the Living (One) [ΠЄΤΟΝϨ] who is before you and you have spoken about the dead.
>
> Logion 52 (90.13-18)
>
> Jesus said: Look upon the Living (One) [ΠЄΤΟΝϨ] as long as you live, lest you die and seek to see Him and be unable to see.
>
> Logion 59 (91.9-12)
>
> Jesus said: The heavens will be rolled up and the earth in your presence, and he who lives on the Living (One) [ΠЄΤΟΝϨ] shall see neither death nor <fear>, because Jesus says: Whoever finds himself, of him the world is not worthy.
>
> Logion 111 (99.6-10)

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[1] Ibid., p. 100.

The "Father" is also given the same title in much the same way as in the Old and New Testaments, in the following three logia:

> If you (will) know yourselves, then you will be known and you will know that you are the sons of the Living Father [ⲠⲈⲒⲰⲦ ⲈⲦⲞⲚϨ]. But if you do not know yourselves, then you are in poverty and you are poverty.
>
> Logion 3b (80.26-81.5)

> His disciples said: When wilt Thou be revealed to us and when will we see Thee?
> Jesus said: When you take off your clothing without being ashamed, and take your clothes and put them under your feet as the little children and tread on them, then [shall you behold] the Son of the Living (One) [ⲠⲈⲦⲞⲚϨ] and you shall not fear.
>
> Logion 37 (97.27-88.2)

> If they say to you: "(Who) are you?", say: "We are His sons and we are the elect of the Living Father" [ⲠⲈⲒⲰⲦ ⲠⲈⲦⲞⲚϨ].
>
> Logion 50b (90.1-4)

The use of the epithet, lastly, is extended even to those who are saved and who have thereby become participants in the eternal life, as in Revelation 4:9, in the following two instances:

> Jesus said: This heaven shall pass away and the one above it shall pass away, and the dead are not alive and the living [ⲚⲈⲦⲞⲚϨ] shall not die. In the days when you devoured the dead, you made it alive [or, the living one: ⲠⲈⲦⲞⲚϨ]; when you come into light, what will you do? On the day when you were one, you became two. But when you have become two, what will you do?
>
> Logion 11 (82.16-25)

> Jesus said: The heavens will be rolled up and the earth in your presence, and he who lives [or, the one living: ⲠⲈⲦⲞⲚϨ] on the Living (One) shall see neither death nor <fear>, because Jesus says: Whoever finds himself, of him the world is not worthy.
>
> Logion 111 (99.6-10)

From what has been discussed in the foregoing pages, it may now be concluded that, while it cannot be denied that the Gnostics and Manichaeans used the expression "the living Jesus" in a special way, the epithet itself is not of necessity to be considered sufficient as an evidence for the establishment of the "Gnostic" or "Manichaean" character either of the Prologue to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas or the entire document it introduces.

* * *

The second of the two significant key phrases in the Prologue under discussion is "the secret words" (ⲛ̄ϣⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲑⲏⲡ). Like the expression "the living Jesus," this phrase also has room for argument both for and against the so-called "Gnostic" interpretation. In order to clarify what this expression really means, it seems necessary to take into consideration the Prologue and Logion 1 together.

This logion, which follows immediately after the Prologue, reads as follows:

> And He said: Whoever finds the explanation of these words will not taste death.
>
> Logion 1 (80.12-14)

It has generally been recognized by the scholars working on the Coptic Gospel of Thomas that there is a close connection between the Prologue and this logion. Consequently, these two passages have often been put together and dealt with as one unit under the single title "Preface" (Leipoldt, Schoedel, Princeton Seminary text) or "Incipit" (Doresse).

On the other hand, the stereotyped formula, "he said" (ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ), seems to mark a division, as the "official" edition has it. The question therefore arises as to what the antecedent of the personal pronoun "he" is.

The "official" edition takes the position that this "he" refers to Jesus by capitalizing it, as seen in the quotation above. However, Johannes Leipoldt, who was the first to translate the Coptic Thomas into any modern European language in 1958, later criticized strongly the enumeration system adopted by those who produced the "official" edition in 1959. Leipoldt maintains that what is counted as Logion 1 in the "official" edition is actually "a word of the aforementioned Thomas," and therefore "there is no basis for assuming a change of subject." He is of the opinion that "it would be a strange introduction if Jesus had produced the Gospel of Thomas," and hopes that "this misleading numbering does not persist."[1]

With this criticism in mind, one would assume that if it were Jesus who is meant by "he," the formula "Jesus said" (ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅) would be more appropriate than "and he said" (ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉϫⲁϥ), particularly since this is the first logion in the whole book. If, on the other hand, it were Thomas who is referred to here, it certainly cannot be the apostle Thomas himself but the fictitious figure named "Didymos Judas Thomas." It is not necessary to assume that this "he" in Logion 1 refers to the original writer or compiler who was responsible for the composition of the "Ur-Thomas."

For this reason, the pronoun "he" should be left uncapitalized. The division in the "official" edition between the Prologue and Logion 1 may still be followed, but only in the sense that the latter is considered to serve as the transitory statement from the Prologue to the body of the logia-collection which really begins with Logion 2.

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[1] J. Leipoldt, "Bemerkungen zur Übersetzung des Thomasevangeliums," Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXXV (October, 1960), col. 795: "Aber das ist noch ein Wort des vorher genannten Thomas: es liegt kein Grund vor, einen Subjektwechsel anzunehmen, und es wäre eine seltsame Vorstellung, dass das Thomas-Evangelium Jesus vorgelegen hätte. Ich hoffe, dass diese irreführende Zählung sich nicht durchsetzt."

Taking, then, the Prologue and Logion 1 as a unit, it may be stated that scholars who are inclined toward the "Gnostic" point of view are generally agreed that it provides an excellent introduction to a literary work which, in their opinion, must be considered "Gnostic." Ernst Haenchen, for example, sees that the opening unit clearly characterizes the entire work as such, when he makes the following statement:

> A gospel, which presented itself in the earliest form as a collection of "hidden words" of Jesus, whose secret meaning is worth finding out, is at all events an esoteric Gnostic writing.[1]

This, however, is a sweeping statement which lacks support of evidence. One may well ask: What sayings-collections are there other than the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas, which begin with an introductory sentence like the one which Haenchen characterizes? It must be remembered that the Coptic Thomas is unique in that it is a literary work consisting solely of those logia which were allegedly spoken by Jesus, and that no general statement such as Haenchen proposes can properly be made.

In dealing with specific words and expressions contained in Logion 1 or in any logion of Thomas, the same warning as given in previous pages seems in order. Although parallels in apocryphal and "Gnostic" writings display the frequent use of some of those words and expressions, it is by no means necessary to conclude that *every* passage in the Coptic *Thomas* in which the same words and expressions are encountered must be regarded as "Gnostic" in origin and character.

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[1] "Ein Evangelium, das sich auch in der frühesten Form als eine sammlung 'verborgener Worte' Jesu gab, deren geheimen Sinn es zu erraten gilt, ist auf alle Fälle eine esoterische gnostische Schrift"; Haenchen, Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums ("Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann," 6; Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1961), p. 11.

As in the case of the Prologue, Gärtner, for one, thinks that the kind of "Gnostic" milieu, in which "the prologue to the Gospel of Thomas must be placed . . . when we read about 'the secret words spoken by the living Jesus'," is the same general atmosphere out of which arose such writings as the *Sophia Jesu Christi* (in the Nag Hammadi Codex I) or the *Gospel of Bartholomew*.[1] Since this statement has been made, it is necessary to take a closer look at these two documents just mentioned.

First, the introduction to the *Sophia Jesu Christi*,[2] which is said to have "all the appearance of a gospel and correspomds to the usual type of Gnostic works of this category,"[1] reads as follows:

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[1] Gartner, p. 104.

[2] Originally written probably in Greek in the second half of the second century, the *Sophia Jesu Christi* is extant in full in two Coptic MSS: (1) "Papyrus Berolinensis 8502" (published by Till in 1955); and (2) Codex I of the Nag Hammadi library. In addition, the third century Greek MS called P. Oxy. 1081 contains two pages of the Greek text of this book, the fact which, as Puech maintains, proves that the original language of this writing was Greek, not Coptic. The traditional view that this work is Valentinian in origin, or even that it was composed by Valentinus himself, is now considered to be untenable. The content of this document shows a remarkable closeness to that of the *Letter of the Blessed Eugnostus*, which immediately precedes the *Sophia Jesu Christi* in the same Codex I of the Nag Hammadi collection. Puech thinks that the *Sophia Jesu Christi* is "only a simple recasting" of the *Letter of the Blessed Eugnostus* just mentioned, while Till holds exactly the opposite view. For further discussions on this *Sophia Jesu Christi*, see Puech's article in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 243-48.

> After he had risen from the dead, when they came, the twelve disciples and seven women who had followed him as disciples, into Galilee, to the mountain which is called "the place of ripeness and joy," where they were now at a loss in regard to the true nature of the universe, the plan of salvation, the holy providence, the excellency of the powers, about all that the Redeemer did with them, the secrets of the holy plan of salvation, then there appeared to them the Redeemer, not in his original form but in the invisible spirit. But his appearance was the appearance of a great angel of light. But his form I cannot describe. No mortal flesh could bear it, but a pure and perfect flesh in his kind (=as formerly), as he showed himself to us on the mountain which is called "that of the Olives," in Galilee. He said: Peace (be) with you! My peace give I unto you. And they all wondered and were afraid. The Redeemer smiled and spake to them: Of what are you thinking, or about what are you at a loss, or what are you seeking?[2]

That this quotation gives a good example of a type of early Christian literature, i.e., "Gospel," describing how the risen Lord revealed himself and his teaching to his closest followers, there can be no question. In a dialogue series which follows this introduction, the risen and glorified Christ further passes on to his group the most sublime revelations, expounds all the mysteries and resolves all the problems still perplexing them. Presumably, it is against this background that the Prologue and Logion 1 of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas ought to be interpreted, as Gärtner seems to suggest.

Secondly, reference has been made also to the opening verses of the so-called Gospel of Bartholomew,[3] where "the same reason for the final revelation, and the same insight into the secrets, are also encountered."[1] The following are the words with which the Gospel of Bartholomew begins:

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[1] Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 246.

[2] Papyrus Berolinensis 8502, 77.9-79-18. This translation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 246.

[3] The existence of this apocryphal writing was known to Jerome, the Decretum Gelasianum, Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, Epi-

> In the time before the passion of our Lord Christ all the apostles were gathered together. And they asked and besought him: Lord, show us the secrets of the heaven. But Jesus answered: I can reveal nothing to you before I have put off this body of flesh. But when he had suffered and risen again, all the apostles at the sight of him did not dare to ask him, because his appearance was not as it was before, but revealed the fulness of his godhead.[2]

It is significant to note in this introduction that Jesus is presented as not having been able to reveal the secrets until he had risen from the dead. This, of course, presupposes an extended period of time subsequent to the resurrection, during which he is said to have given to his intimate followers all the important teaching and the right interpretation of his words, as already hinted at even by such canonical passages as Luke 24:45 and Acts 1:3.

It is true, as pointed out earlier, that the less-orthodox Christians, like the Valentinians, or the group of people who presumably produced such writings as the Pistis Sophia and the Apocryphon of James, showed unusually keen interest in this particular period between Jesus' resurrection and ascension and made a great deal out of it. It is further to be assumed that the same, or similar, type of people also developed the idea that the earthly Jesus

---

phanius the monk, and the Venerable Bede. It has probably been incorporated into a work known as the "Questions of Bartholomew," which survives in five recensions--two in Greek, two in Latin, and one in Slavonic. The date of the composition of the original Gospel of Bartholomew has been suggested as the third century (so, e.g., F. Scheidweiler in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 488).

[1] Gärtner, p. 103.

[2] Gospel of Bartholomew 1:1-3 (Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 488).

uttered only the "hidden words," the parables, which had later to be interpreted by the risen Christ.[1]

Such an idea is precisely what is reflected in the Gospel of Bartholomew, as particularly emphasized by some scholars. Does this mean, then, that this Gospel under the name of Bartholomew ought to be characterized as "Gnostic"? The answer to this question is not as simple as the superficial similarities of terminology and concept would seem to suggest. In fact, the generally presumed "Gnostic" character of the Gospel of Bartholomew has recently been subjected to serious question by some prominent authorities on the subject. Schneemelcher, for example, in his brief introduction to the Gospel in point, wrote as follows:

> The question of Gnosticism in the Gospel of Bartholomew deserves serious consideration. In fact many parallels to the gnostic gospels, in content and not only in form, can be adduced. . . . But statements about the "gnostic" character of the Gospel of Bartholomew are only possible when we can say exactly what this gospel looked like, and we are still far from being able to do that.[2]

The investigator of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas likewise must constantly be reminded that a great deal of caution is necessary as he attempts to evaluate each and every logion contained in it, lest he should reach any unduly hasty conclusions. This is especially true when dealing with any statement regarding the opening unit of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, such as given by Gärtner in the following words:

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[1] Cf. Pistis Sophia 83, where a distinction is made between the people of this world who could put to Jesus only superficial questions and the disciples who had been given "understanding of the light," the power of "observation" and "a highly exalted mind"; cf. also chap. 6, as well as the opening part of the First Book of Jeu, quoted earlier. The following passage from the Excerpta ex Theodoto 66 may also be cited in this connection: "The Savior taught the apostles in the first place in types and mysteries, in the second place in parables and riddles, and in the third place, when they were alone, plainly and directly." However, canonical passages, such as Mark 4:11f. and Luke 24:27, should not be overlooked in this connection.

[2] Schneemelcher in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 486.

> The saying . . . also fits in well with this basic Gnostic view of the Risen Jesus as the one who passed on true knowledge and the true meaning of what the "earthly" Jesus had said.[1]

The same scholar further goes on to state that "there is even a hint that the 'heavenly' Jesus is not only the Revealer, but also the 'Interpreter' of truth--an idea common among Gnostics."[2] Support for this notion of Jesus as "Interpreter" is then sought for in such writings as "Fragments of a Dialogue between John and Jesus,"[3] the Pistis Sophia,[4] and the Second Book of Jeu.[5] The conclusion thus drawn runs as follows:

> In the prologue [including Logion 1] to the Gospel of Thomas, the reader or listener had to win the "interpretation," of these sayings of Jesus, which interpretation can in point of fact only be given by Jesus himself.[6]

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[1] Gärtner, pp. 105-106.

[2] Ibid.

[3] A Coptic writing, contained in a parchment leaf and two small fragments of other leaves belonging to the same MS, found at Deir el-Bala'izah, west of Assyut. Published first by W. E. Crum in his article, "Coptic Anecdota," Journal of Theological Studies, XLIV (1943), pp. 176-82, and then by Paul E. Kahle, Bala'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir el-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt, I (London, 1954), pp. 473-77 (text No. 52), the MS is dated by Crum in the 4th or 5th century, and by Kahle in the 4th. The "Gnostic" nature of this document is generally accepted without much dispute. The reference to the "five trees" in this MS is also found in Log. 19 of the Coptic Thomas. For further information on this writing, see Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 331-33.

[4] Pistis Sophia 62.

[5] Second Book of Jeu 45 and 49.

[6] Gärtner, p. 107.

Yet, any reader of the introductory unit as it stands in the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas will readily see that there is no such "hint" or concept that the risen Jesus is expected to serve as the "Interpreter" of his own sayings. To read the Prologue and Logion 1 that way, therefore, is to read into it a notion obtained from elsewhere.

Gärtner is firmly convinced that the term "interpretation" (ἑρμηνεία, translated "explanation" in the "official" edition) of Logion 1 is "the same special expression as in Gnostic literature in general, standing for the secret gnosis which is expounded."[1] He undoubtedly is correct in observing from those writings that are decidedly Gnostic in nature that "interpretation" is a favorite Gnostic term. However, when he generalizes further by virtually concluding that all writings which use the word "interpretation" are Gnostic, it is doubtful if he can be followed. It is, therefore, questionable whether his conclusion applies to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. It is at least possible that in Thomas the term "interpretation" carries the ordinary sense of the word and nothing more.

Preoccupied with the "Gnostic" usage of a number of terms and expressions which occur in the Coptic Thomas, Gärtner often seems quickly to deduce conclusions which do not always do justice to the text of Thomas itself. For instance, he is well aware of the fact that the "principle, of deep, secret knowledge hidden in the Holy Scripture, is known both from Judaism and from the New Testament." Yet, he shows no inclination to take this principle into proper consideration and develop it to its proper conclusion. As a result, dealing with the Prologue and Logion 1 only, he already seems to prefer to follow the methodological principle which runs as follows:

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[1] Ibid.

> But what makes it possible to place the Gospel of Thomas in the Gnostic stream of tradition which we have sketched above is the context in which we encounter the concept of "interpretation," and the combination of terms vital to the Gnostics.[1]

The same thing, let it be made clear, may well be said also with regard to the possibility of taking the Prologue and Logion 1, if not the whole, of Thomas out of the "Gnostic" stream of tradition. This is because the evaluation of "context" and "terms" must vary, depending on what standpoint the investigator takes in relation to various streams of tradition within the framework of early Christianity.

It seems to the present writer that the expression, "the secret (or, hidden) words" spoken by Jesus, has a good Biblical support. In Matthew 13:10-15, for example, Jesus himself makes a distinction between the understanding of the disciples and that of the crowd. The student of the Coptic Thomas, therefore, is not required first to go to such writings and terms used in them as the Greek Acts of Thomas (ἀπόκρυφα λόγια), the Book of Thomas (Ⲛ̄ϣⲁϪⲈ ⲈⲐⲎⲠ, "the hidden words"), or Hippolytus' Refutatio (λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι),[2] and then come back to the opening unit in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas and apply to it the results of observations made elsewhere.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 107-108.

[2] Acts of Thomas 39; Book of Thomas the Athlete, introduction; Hippolytus Refutatio vii. 20.

In fact, the term "secret" or "hidden" (ϩⲱⲡ, ϩⲏⲡ) occurs several times in the Coptic Thomas itself in the ordinary sense of the word that may well be non-Gnostic. As will be examined in the following pages, no special treatment of the word, as is necessary in cases of bona fide "Gnostic" writings, is required in the instance of the following logia, since that word does not seem to have the technical Gnostic meaning in them.

For example, Logion 5 reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Know what is in thy sight, and what is hidden (ⲡⲉⲑⲏⲡ) from thee will be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden (ⲉϥϩⲏⲡ) which will not be manifest.
>
> Logion 5 (81.10-14)

The core of this logion, needless to say, is the familiar Synoptic saying: "For nothing is covered that will not be revealed, or hidden that will not be known" (Matthew 10:26=Luke 12:2; Mark 4:22=Luke 8:17). The Greek saying found in Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment No. 654, which corresponds to this Coptic logion, has a longer ending with the following additional words: "nor buried which shall not be raised." This obvious reference to the resurrection poses some serious problems, a full discussion of which, however, must be reserved for the next chapter of this dissertation.

It is of course not impossible to read Logion 5 against the background of the famous Delphic formula attributed to the "Seven Wise Men": "Know Thyself" (γνῶθι σεαυτόν), already understood by Philo "in a mystico-gnostic sense."[1] It should be remembered, however, that already in the canonical New Testament the apostle Paul had something to say about "knowing and being known" when he wrote to the Galatians: "now that you have come to know God, or rather to be known by God."[1] An emphasis on "knowledge" in this sense, which may well be applied to Logion 5 as well, does not alter the ordinary meaning of the word "hidden" in such a way as to necessitate a "Gnostic" interpretation of it.

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[1] Wilson, p. 27.

The same Synoptic formula reappears at the concluding part of the next Logion 6, which reads as follows:

> His disciples asked Him, they said to Him: Wouldst thou that we fast, and how should we pray (and) should we give alms, and what diet should we observe?
> Jesus said: Do not lie; and do not do what you hate, for all things are manifest before Heaven. For there is nothing hidden (ⲈϤϨⲎⲠ) that shall not be revealed and there is nothing covered that shall remain without being uncovered.
>
> Logion 6 (81.14-23)

This logion has often been taken as an "anti-Jewish" statement rejecting fasting, prayer, almsgiving, and dietary laws.[2] Grant and Freedman, for example, commented on this logion as follows:

> In this saying the injunction of Matthew 6:16 ("When you fast"), 6:5 ("When you pray"), and 6:2 ("When you give alms") are rejected, in opposition also to Christian practice as reflected in 2 Clement 16:2, and to Jewish practice as well (Tobit 4:7-11; 12:8-9). Dietary laws are also canceled.[3]

Nowhere in the text of this logion itself, however, can such "rejection" and "cancellation" be detected. What the logion actually says is: "Do not lie; and do not do what you hate," which may be simply another way of recapitulating the words of Tobit in his counsel to his son Tobias: "Watch yourself, my son, in everything you do, and be disciplined in all your conduct. And what you hate, do not do to any one."[1] Grant and Freedman also stated that "in the teaching of Jesus the inner disposition is certainly important, but outward observance is not rejected."[2] So far as Logion 6 is concerned, let it be said, it does not reject such outward religious observances either. The basic thought behind this logion, therefore, is not anti-Jewish at all. The meaning of the term "hidden" in this logion, as in the preceding one, is self-explanatory and therefore would not require any further comment.

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[1] Gal. 4:9; cf. also I Cor. 13:12.

[2] E.g., Wilson, pp. 84, 104, 132.

[3] Grant-Freedman, p. 124.

In Logion 32, another dominical saying: "A city set on a hill cannot be hid" (Matthew 5:14), occurs, though in a somewhat modified form. The logion reads as follows:

> Jesus said: A city being built on a high mountain (and) fortified can not fall nor can it (ever) be hidden (ϩⲱⲡ).
>
> Logion 32 (87.7-10)

It may be worth noticing that some scholars (e.g., Puech, Quispel, and Wilson) are prepared to see in this logion an "independent tradition."[3] Whether this is true and therefore the logion ought to be considered as authentic words of Jesus, "older and more complete than Matthew,"[4] or whether the logion should be dismissed simply as a secondary expansion of Matthew 5:14b, as Jeremias, Fitzmyer,

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[1] Tobit 4:14, 15.

[2] Grant-Freedman, p. 125.

[3] Wilson writes: "Traces of independent tradition may perhaps be found in logia 31, 32 and 33, in 54 and 55, in 64 and 65, and in some others" (p. 147).

[4] Wilson, p. 61.

Grant and Freedman have done,[1] still remains an open question. In any event, the meaning of the word "hidden" here is again self-evident.

Logion 33 presents a curious combination of two Synoptic sayings found in Matthew and Luke. It reads as follows:

> Jesus said: What thou shalt hear in thine ear (and) in the other ear, that preach from your housetops; for no one lights a lamp and puts it under a bushel, nor does he put it in a hidden place (ⲈϤϨⲎⲠ), but he sets it on the lampstand, so that all who come in and go out may see its light.
>
> Logion 33 (87:10-18)

First, the logion contains a loose parallel in Matthew 10:27: "What I tell you in the dark, utter in the light; and what you hear whispered, proclaim upon the housetops" (cf. Luke 12:3). Then, there is an almost literal reproduction of the familiar saying ascribed to Jesus in Luke 11:33: "No one after lighting a lamp puts it in a cellar or under a bushel, but on a stand, that those who enter may see the light" (cf. Matthew 5:15, 16). Commenting on this logion, Grant and Freedman are certain that "here we have nothing but a [special Gnostic] combination of sayings about an ear (Matthew 10:27; Luke 12:3; both sayings mention 'light') and about lighting a lamp (Luke 11:33; 8:16; Matthew 5:15)."[2]

Furthermore, Grant and Freedman play greatly on the Gnostics combining certain favorite canonical passages in special Gnostic manner.[1] They have made the following general observation:

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[1] Joachim Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, trans. R. H. Fuller (London: S.P.C.K., 1957; repr. 1958), p. 13; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus *Logoi* of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas," *Theological Studies*, XX (December, 1959), p. 542; Grant-Freedman, p. 150. The above-mentioned works by Jeremias and Fitzmyer will hereafter be referred to as Jeremias and Fitzmyer respectively.

[2] Grant-Freedman, pp. 150-51.

> In Naassene transmission and exegesis of the sayings of Jesus there is a tendency to combine words found in different contexts in order to bring out their Gnostic meaning. We also find a tendency to rearrange the sequences found in the gospels, even within individual sayings.[2]

Accordingly, they see in Logion 33, as well as in other logia of *Thomas*, the same manner of combining canonical materials as that employed by the late-second century Gnostic sect of the "Naassenes." For these scholars, the similarity of methods in using and rearranging Biblical materials as employed by both the Naassenes and *Thomas*, apparently, is of prime importance, for they believe that this is the decisive evidence for the existence of a close connection between the Naassenes and the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*.[3] Similarly, William R. Schoedel, in his study of the Coptic *Thomas*, reached the conclusion that "the evidence seems sufficient to lend some support to the hypothesis that the Gospel of Thomas is a Naassene document, i.e. that it was either composed or thoroughly redacted by members of this sect."[4]

This, however, does not settle the issue completely. It is still a matter of question whether the Naassene theory can be proved. For one thing, the knowledge about this sect is very much limited. Not a word of their writings has survived to this day.

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[1] *Ibid*., pp. 97-101.

[2] *Ibid*., pp. 100-101.

[3] *Ibid*., p. 101; cf. also Grant, "Notes on the Gospel of Thomas," *VC*, XIII (1959), pp. 170-80.

[4] W. R. Schoedel, "Naassene Themes in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas," *VC*, XIV (1960), p. 233. The study of *Thomas* by Grant and Freedman is based on Schoedel's English transtion of its text.

Only one slight secondary source of information about this group is in existence. That is the Fifth Book of Hippolytus' _Refutatio_. Besides, one must ask the question: Did Hippolytus represent them fairly? Furthermore, no one as yet is in a position to assert beyond doubt that only the Naassenes adopted the kind of exegetical and editorial methods that are also found in the Coptic _Thomas_, as Grant and Freedman believe.

It is true, as pointed out in earlier pages, that Hippolytus did mention a "Gospel of Thomas" in connection with the "Naassenes."[1] However, what appears to be a quotation from that Gospel in the _Refutatio_ does not actually occur in the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_. At most only very remote echoes of it are found in _Thomas_' Logion 4. Only to this extent, therefore, can it be said that there might have been some connection between the Naassenes and the _Gospel of Thomas_ in the Coptic dress. This is an extremely slight evidence upon which to base any generalization or theory.

Compared with the "Naassene" hypothesis, the suggestion made by Quispel is more promising. In his comparative study of the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_ and the _Diatessaron_ of Tatian (written about A.D. 170), Quispel noted that Logion 33 has parallels in the latter document, and accordingly made a suggestion that it would be simpler to suppose that Tatian knew either Logion 33 or something of that sort than that he borrowed bits and pieces here and there from all three Synoptics.[2]

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[1] Hippolytus _Refutatio_ v. 7. 20; see Chap. IV, _supra_.

[2] Quispel, "L'Evangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron," _VC_, XIII (1959), pp. 108f., 112f.; cf. Wilson, p. 75.

This is an important contribution to the study of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*. It makes it possible to assume that before the composition of Tatian's *Diatessaron* there had already been in Edessa (which is the provenance of the *Diatessaron*) a body of sayings attributed to Jesus, including the present Logion 33. This presumed sayings-collection of the pre-Diatessaron period is what the present writer wishes to identify as the "Ur-Thomas."

Tatian's Harmony of the Gospels is usually referred to in patristic sources as the *Diatessaron*, i.e. διὰ τεσσάρων [εὐαγγελίων]. However, Victor (died 554), Bishop of Capua from 541, in the Preface to his Latin translation of Tatian's work (contained in "Codex Fuldensis" written in 541-546), curiously speaks of Tatian's Harmony as a "Diapente" (διὰ πέντε). Consequently, scholars have long been puzzled by this designation. By way of solution, some have thought that the expression was meant to indicate obliquely that, in addition to the four canonical Gospels, Tatian made use of a "fifth source." Frequently, this "fifth source" is thought to have been the *Gospel of the Hebrews* (so, e.g., Grotius, Mill, and more recently M. A. Baumstark and Quispel); occasionally it is identified with the *Protevangelium of James* (e.g., G. Messina). It must of course be admitted, as Bruce M. Metzger stated, that

> the question whether Tatian did or did not use sources beyond the four canonical gospels remains open and must be answered on the basis of an analysis of the text of the Diatessaron itself.[1]

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[1] B. M. Metzger, Review of *Vittore di Capua e il 'Diatessaron,'* by Franco Bolgiani, *Journal of Theological Studies*, N.S. XV (April, 1964), p. 167.

Yet, if and when a "fifth source" behind the Diatessaron is to be postulated, allowance should be made, in accordance with what has just been proposed by the present writer, for the possibility that such a "source" may well have been the "Ur-Thomas," rather than the Gospel of the Hebrews or any other known documents.

Furthermore, the Jewish-Christian Gospel of the Hebrews, which has most frequently been mentioned as the probable "fifth source" of the Diatessaron, is generally believed to have been of Egyptian origin.[1] Since it is almost certain that the Diatessaron was composed in Edessa, it appears more likely that Tatian would have made use of a document which already had been in existence in that same region, rather than of one which had originated in Egypt.

Moreover, all that is known of the Gospel of the Hebrews is derived from only a few small fragments preserved in patristic writings.[2] Obviously, this is not sufficient to provide any substantial assistance in determining its actual contents and compass. This is particularly so in view of the fact that the Stichometry of Nicephorus assigns to the Gospel of the Hebrews 2,200 lines, which is only 300 fewer than the canonical Gospel of Matthew. Notwithstanding the prevalent rather spectacular claims which have been made about the Gospel of the Hebrews in the field of New Testament Apocryphal studies, and particularly in connection with the Diatessaron as just pointed out, it still must be recognized that extremely little information about that lost Gospel is available. For this reason it is difficult to see how the hypothesis of identifying the "fifth source" underlying the Diatessaron with the Gospel of the Hebrews can be convincingly supported.

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[1] So, e.g., Vielhauer, in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 163.

[2] Vielhauer lists seven fragments in all; see Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 163-65.

Under these circumstances, it is all the more significant that Quispel, in the aforementioned article, has been able to discover a surprisingly great number of parallels common to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron. The evidence thus provided is sufficient to support the assumption that there must have been some connection between Thomas and Tatian's carefully prepared Harmony of the Gospels.

However, the strange development here is that Quispel regards both the Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron as based upon a common and "fifth source," which he identifies with the Gospel of the Hebrews. The present writer, in line with his conclusion presented in the preceding pages, further wishes to suggest that such a common "fifth source" did in all probability underlie both the Diatessaron and the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. It is here proposed that this common source was the "Ur-Thomas" and not any one of the known Jewish-Christian apocryphal Gospels or any other document of that sort.

Returning to the original question as to the meaning of the term "hidden" in Logion 33 that has been under discussion, it is necessary only to repeat that the word is used here in its ordinary non-Gnostic sense.

Next, Logion 39 contains a combination of two Synoptic sayings, again with some changes. It reads as follows:

> Jesus said: The Pharisees and the Scribes have received the keys of Knowledge (γνῶσις), they have hidden (ⲁⲩϩⲟⲡⲟⲩ) them. They did not enter, and they did not let those (enter) who wished. But you, become wise as serpents and innocent as doves.
>
> Logion 39 (88.7-13)

This logion, as it now stands, contains first a recasting of Luke 11:52: "Woe to you lawyers! for you have taken away the key of knowledge; you did not enter yourselves, and you hindered those who were entering" (cf. Matthew 23:13). It also has at the end the dominical saying recorded in the First Gospel: "Be wise as serpents and innocent as doves" (Matthew 10:16).

There are, however, some significant differences between this logion and the corresponding Synoptic sayings, as Wilson has noted. For example, this logion speaks, like Matthew, of the "Scribes" and "Pharisees," but in the reverse order. On the other hand, this logion agrees with Luke in speaking of "the key of knowledge," but has "keys" in the plural. Thus it cannot be said that this logion is dependent on either Matthew or Luke alone. Wilson, accordingly, suggested that "here the possibility of independent tradition would . . . appear to merit further investigation."[1]

This suggestion of an "independent tradition," from which Logion 39 could have been derived, seems to find further support in the fact that this logion reads: "the Pharisees and the Scribes have received the keys of Knowledge," while the corresponding passage in Luke runs: "you [lawyers] have taken away the key of knowledge," which is something quite different from the former reading. Quispel thinks that this difference is explicable "as a variant translation of the same Aramaic word, sekal, meaning both 'to receive, to hold' and 'to take away'." He therefore maintains that Logion 39 "reflects an independent translation from the Aramaic."[1]

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[1] Wilson, p. 76. It should also be pointed out that Log. 39 has ⲛ̄ⲅⲣⲁⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉⲩⲥ (= οἱ γραμματεῖς), while the corresponding Lukan passage has οἱ νομικοί. The meaning is the same, but the words are different, a fact that supports Wilson's suggestion.

At this point, it is again worth noticing that Quispel was able to find parallels for all these and other deviations from the canonical sayings in two or more forms of the *Diatessaron*. If he is correct, this may offer strong support for the possibility that Logion 39, or something of its nature, had been known to the original composer of a sayings-collection presumably underlying both the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* and the *Diatessaron*. It may thus be assumed that this logion reached the compiler of the "Ur-Thomas," either in the present Coptic form or in an older form, already as part of an early Christian tradition independent of, or parallel with, the Synoptic traditions.

Furthermore, there seems good reason to believe that this early tradition was markedly *Jewish-Christian* in its outlook. Quispel has pointed out that in one portion of the so-called *Pseudo-Clementines*[2] it is said that the Scribes and the Pharisees

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[1] Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *VC*, XI (1957), p. 202.

[2] *Recognitions* ii. 30. "Pseudo-Clementines" is the title of the many apocryphal writings which circulated in the early Church under the name of Clement, Bishop of Rome (fl. *ca*. 96). By convention, however, its use is restricted to the Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* (and also the less important *Epitomes* of the last named).

The twenty *Homilies* (Ὁμιλίαι) present a religious and philosophical romance, describing Clement's travels in the East when he met Peter and witnessed his conflict with Simon Magus. These *Homilies* are preceded by two letters, one by Peter, the other received the key of knowledge from Moses but hid it.[1] This is virtually the same as Logion 39. The reading "have received" in both *Thomas* and the *Pseudo-Clementines*, over against "have taken away" in Luke 11:52, may thus be considered to have been current among Jewish-Christian circles, particularly in Syria. Logion 39, so Quispel concludes, not only represents an independent translation from Aramaic but also "definitely bears the stamp of Jewish-Christian doctrine."

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by Clement, addressed to James of Jerusalem, and contain much legendary matter. For the text of this work, cf. *PG* II. 19-468; Berhard Rehm (ed.), *Die Pseudoklementinen, I: Homilien* (CGS 42; Berlin, 1953).

The ten books of *Recognitions* (Ἀναγνώσεις) resemble the *Homilies* in historical setting and theological outlook, but are worked out in greater detail. Originally written either in Greek or Syriac in the early third century, the *Recognitions* have survived in the Latin version of Rufinus (d. 410). For the text of this work, cf. *PG* I. 1201-1474; B. Rehm and F. Paschke (eds.), *Die Pseudoklementinen, II: Rekognitionen* (CGS; 1958).

Today it is generally agreed that both *Homilies* and *Recognitions* ultimately go back to one basic document (*Grundschrift*), as recently presented by Georg Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen* ("Texte und Untersuchungen," 70; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958). This basic document, now lost, is believed to have had its origin in the Syrian circle. Though sometimes characterized as "Gnostic," these works clearly bear a *Jewish-Christian* mark. For further information on the *Pseudo-Clementines*, see J. Irmscher's article, "Die Pseudo-Clementinen," Hennecke-Schneemelcher II, pp. 373-98; Quasten, *Patrology* I, pp. 59-63; Altaner, *op. cit*., pp. 104-106.

[1] It is worth noting that in Luke 11:52 the so-called "Western text" (represented by such MSS as D 157 it sy^{s} sy^{c}) has the variant reading: "you have *hidden* (ἐκρύψατε) the key of knowledge," instead of "you have *taken away* (ἤρατε), etc." In this connection, one may recall Matthew Black's observation in his *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1946) to the effect that variants of the "Western text" are sometimes nearer to Aramaic as spoken by Jesus than the Alexandrine text of the Gospels. From this observation, Quispel inferred that "the various representatives of the 'Western Text' have been influenced from a very early date by a Jewish-Christian Gospel written in Aramaic and then translated into Greek" (*art. cit*., p. 203). By the last-named "Gospel" Quispel of course means the *Gospel of the Hebrews*.

These observations, coupled with the suggestions made by the present writer in the foregoing pages, have led him to conclude that the "Ur-Thomas" originated in the Jewish-Christian milieu of the Syrian type, and was utilized as a source document of Tatian's Diatessaron and possibly of other spocryphal writings that are believed to have been composed in Edessa.[1]

A further note may be made regarding Logion 39. The "official" edition spells "knowledge" with the capital "K." Presumably, the translators of this edition were of the opinion that the term gnosis here must be taken as a "Gnostic" technical term. This, however, is unfortunate for the reason that the text of this logion itself makes no such claim. Such a preconception is as misleading as the one which Grant and Freedman seem to imply, when they suggest, by insinuation, that the logion points to a possible connection with the Naassenes, on the ground that the name "Naassene" is derived from the Hebrew word נָחָשׁ meaning "serpent" and that the logion has at the end the counsel that the believers ought to be "wise as serpents."[2]

So far as the word "hidden" in Logion 39 is concerned, there is again nothing to suggest in any way the need for interpreting it as a special "Gnostic" terminology.

The same term "hidden" is used twice in the next Logion 83, which reads as follows:

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[1] The writer is pleased to find that W. H. C. Frend, in his review of Tatian und seine Theologie by Martin Elze ("Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte," 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1960), Journal of Theological Studies, N.S. XII (April, 1961), p. 91, stated as follows: "the 'fifth source' which Tatian used may be identified with some probability as the primitive Aramaic stratum of the Gospel of Thomas."

[2] Grant-Freedman, p. 154.

> Jesus said: The images are manifest to man and the Light which is within them is hidden (ϥϩⲏⲡ) in the Image of the Light of the Father. He will manifest himself and His Image is concealed (=hidden; ϩⲏⲡ) by His Light.
>
> Logion 83 (95.19-24)

This logion has no direct parallel in the canonical Gospels. Moreover, it contains certain terminologies which, as Gärtner emphasizes, came to play an important role in highly developed Gnostic systems.[1] For these and other reasons, this logion has been subjected to a Gnosticist interpretation, according to which it is claimed to provide one of the best examples which "exhibits characteristics in common with Gnostic creeds."[2]

However, it becomes evident that this logion has a Biblical basis, when it is placed in a proper context which involves the two logia that immediately follow this one. To clarify this point, attention should for a moment be directed to these logia, even though the term "hidden" is not found in them.

> Jesus said: When you see your likeness, you rejoice. But when you see your images which came into existence before you, (which) neither die nor are manifest, how much will you bear!
>
> Logion 84 (95.24-29)
>
> Jesus said: Adam came into existence from a great power and a great wealth, and (yet) he did not become worthy of you. For if he had been worthy, [he would] not [have tasted] death.
>
> Logion 85 (95.29-34)

Grant and Freedman, with whom Wilson seems to agree, have rightly suggested that these three logia just quoted, i.e. Logia 83, 84 and 85, should be treated "as a unit."[1] One can readily see, then, that there is a Biblical basis underneath this unit. This basis is found in the story of the creation of the first man, Adam, as it is told in the first chapter of Genesis in the Old Testament. The passage in point reads as follows: "God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness. . . . And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them."[2] The Biblical basis for those three logia in Thomas can be found in this Genesis passage quite easily, since those logia together contain such unmistakably clear references to this creation story as "Adam" and the "image" of God.

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[1] Gärtner, pp. 200-204.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 200.

For present purposes, it should be pointed out that in the above-quoted three logia Adam's figure appears in connection with two special items: "light" and the "image-likeness" contrast. In both cases, the strong Jewish or Jewish-Christian background is unmistakable, as will be shown in the following pages.

First, it may be noted that Adam and "light" (ΟΥΟΕΙΝ) seem to be inseparably associated with each other in Jewish traditions. This, presumably, is because Adam was considered "immortal." The Wisdom of Solomon, for example, has the following reference to this aspect of Adam's characteristics: "God created man for incorruption, and made him in the image of his own eternity" (2:23). Similarly, the Second Esdras states that God "appointed death for him and his descendants" only after Adam "transgressed" His commandment which had been laid upon him (3:7). This latter passage is especially in harmony with Logion 85, where reference is made to the "fall" of Adam.

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 181; Wilson, p. 108.

[2] Gen. 1:26, 27 (American Standard Version).

This original "immortal" Adam was further believed to have been clothed with "light," according to Jewish traditions. A. F. J. Klijn, in his recent article, conveniently summarized the matter as follows:

> According to Jewish scholars Adam was covered with light. The sun was darkened by his glory. He was called the light of the world. His body was as clear as crystal. Usually this glory was considered to be a garment with which Adam was clothed.[1]

The "light" in Logion 83 thus ought to be understood to refer first of all to this light which was Adam's in the beginning. The same "light" is also to be considered as identical with the "light" of God, who created Adam in His own "image." Thus it becomes evident that there is a definite line of connection between "light" and "image," each occurring three times in Logion 83.

As in the case of "knowledge" in Logion 39 discussed earlier, it is again unfortunate that the "official" edition here capitalizes "light" and "image" whenever these terms are encountered in Logion 83 except one instance of "image," presumably in order to impress the reader that these words must be interpreted as Gnostic technical terms. Such a treatment, however, is wholly unnecessary. The "light" being God's own light, or one might even say, God Himself, its brightness necessarily overshadows everything else, even His own "image" which now has taken form in the person of Adam.

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[1] For this quotation as well as Rabbinic and other references, see A. F. J. Klijn, "The 'Single One' in the Gospel of Thomas," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXI (September, 1962), p. 273.

This is what is meant by Logion 83b: "He will manifest himself and his image is 'hidden' by his light." From this it should be clear that the term "hidden" is also used in the ordinary non-Gnostic sense.

Secondly, Adam is referred to in these three logia under discussion not only as God's "image" but also His "likeness." In Logion 84 quoted above, this "image" (ϩⲓⲕⲱⲛ; εἰκών) evidently is used in contrast with "likeness" (ⲉⲓⲛⲉ). The underlying idea here is the presumed distinction between these two words, based on Genesis 1:26: "God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." Philo, the best representative of first-century Hellenistic Judaism, made a great deal out of this Genesis passage. He found a clear and concrete example of God's "likeness" in the creation account of the second chapter of Genesis. There, as he interpreted it, God created man as "man" and "woman" (Genesis 2:7, 22), in distinction from the earlier creation story, according to which Adam was created both "male and female" (Genesis 1:27). Thus, in Philo's view, there is an unmistakable distinction between Adam, who was created "male and female" in the "image" of God, and the man, who was created as "man" and "woman" after the "likeness" of God. The former is supposed to be immortal, the pure archetype of man, an idea in the mind of God; the latter the earthly, mortal man with body and soul, and divided into "man" and "woman."[1] It is this kind of distinction or contrast with which Adam is specifically associated in Logion 84.

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[1] Cf. Philo *De Opificio Mundi* 134; *Legum Allegoriae* i. 31; *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesim* i. 4; cf. also Klijn, *op. cit*., p. 277.

Between the first and the second Adams, however, there was the "fall." The original "immortal" Adam, bearing God's "image" and clad with His glorious "light," thereby lost all his excellences, and, with his garment of "light" stripped away, became "naked" (Genesis 3:7, 10). The shabby substitute for his lost glory of "light" was now the "coats of skins" (Genesis 3:21), with which both Adam and Eve were clothed. It is said also that Adam had sexual intercourse with Eve only after the "fall," presumably in accordance with the development of the creation story in the Bible (Genesis 4:1).

Logion 85 thus speaks of this radical change which came upon Adam as a result of his disobedience to God's commandment, the change from his original state as he just "came into existence from a great power and a great wealth" (Logion 85) to his fallen mortal condition. He became destined to die, and so indeed, after having lived "nine hundred and thirty years," according to the Scriptures, "he died" (Genesis 5:5). The language of Logion 85 may sound somewhat different from what is familiar from the Biblical passages, but the basic idea embodied in the logion is virtually identical with that underlying the Genesis creation story. Falling short of expectation, Adam finally had to "taste death"! (Logion 85)

Thus the three logia, i.e. Logia 83, 84 and 85, together offer a consistent picture regarding what Adam's original state was when he was created "male and female" in the "image" of God, and what resulted from his fall despite all the glory with which he was once endowed so richly. Caught up in a similarly miserable plight, man today should seriously be concerned about his destiny. He ought to make a rigorous scrutiny into his present state. The middle logion (Logion 84) gives exactly this kind of warning, when, after contrasting the bright, glorious "image" with the earthly, sensual "likeness," it calls for grave reflection by stating: "How much will you bear!"

From what has been discussed it should be fairly clear what *salvation* means according to these logia. It means the *return to the original state of Adam* as he was first created "male and female" in the "image" of God. This unmistakably Jewish concept of salvation seems to have left its mark on a number of logia contained in *Thomas*, as will be examined shortly.

Especially significant in this Jewish picture of salvation is the Rabbinic notion, presumably based on Genesis 1:27, that Adam was at once "male and female," i.e. *androgynous*. This concept of bi-sexual nature of the first man is well attested in the Jewish Rabbinic literature. For example, in Chapter VIII of the *Midrash Rabbah* on *Genesis*, Rabbi Jeremiah ben Leazar is reported as having said: "When the Holy One, blessed be He, created Adam, He created him an hermaphrodite [bi-sexual], for it is said, *Male and female created He them and called their name Adam* (Gen. 5:2)."[1] In the Babylonian *Talmud*, there are at least two passages which imply the same idea. The first relates how Rabbi Abbahu interpreted two texts in Genesis:

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[1] *Genesis Rabbah* 8:1. This translation is taken from H. Freedman and Maurice Simon (eds.), *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis I*, trans. H. Freedman (London: The Soncino Press, 1939), p. 54. The original word here translated "bi-sexual" is אנדרוגינוס (= ἀνδρόγυνος), according to Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum*

> For R. Abbahu contrasted two texts. It is written, 'Male and female created He them,' and it is also written, 'For in the image of God made He man.' How are these statements to be reconciled? At first the intention was to create two, but in the end only one was created.[1]

The second comes from another tractate, which reads: "At first it was the intention that two (i.e. male and female) should be created but ultimately only one was created."[2]

The notion of Adam being "androgynous" evidently never died out in the Rabbinic tradition, for it is said that Rashi (Rabbi Shelomoh Yitschaki, Solomon ben Isaac, 1040-1105) also held the ancient Rabbinic view that "man as first created consisted of two halves, male and female, which were afterwards separated."[3]

As one contribution of this dissertation, the present writer desires to emphasize the importance of this Jewish concept regarding Adam's original nature, because some of Thomas' logia, in which reference is made to man's sexuality, have often been interpreted to indicate the "ascetic" character of the Coptic Thomas.[4] Such a view, however, is largely due to the misinterpretation of those logia as if they were referring to "asexuality" and therefore rejecting sexual life and marriage. The fact of the matter is that those

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Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, I (München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1922), p. 802. In a footnote, the translator of the Genesis Rabbah, H. Freedman, adds: "Thus Adam himself was originally male and female" (op. cit., p. 54, n. 3).

[1] Berakoth 61a. This translation is taken from I. Epstein (ed.), The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Zera'im: Berakoth, trans. M. Simon (London: The Soncino Press, 1948), p. 382.

[2] 'Erubin 18a; Epstein (ed.), loc. cit.: 'Erubin, trans. Israel W. Slotki (1938), p. 124.

[3] A. Cohen, The Soncino Chumash: The Five Books of Moses with Haphtaroth (London: The Soncino Press, 1956), p. 7.

[4] Cf., e.g., Gärtner, pp. 249-57.

logia have nothing to do with Gnostic asceticism. Quite the contrary, they point to the "androgyneity," which once characterized the first man, Adam, and which therefore came to be considered as the ultimate goal in man's search for his true salvation.

In order to bring this point to full attention, it is necessary to take a closer look at those logia referred to in the preceding paragraph. There are in Thomas three logia (4, 22, 23) in which the expression "the single one" (ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ) occurs. These logia, except the second one, may now be quoted.

> Jesus said: The man old in days will not hesitate to ask a little child of seven days about the place of Life, and he will live. For many who are first shall become last and they shall become a single one (ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ).
>
> Logion 4 (81.5-10)

> Jesus said: I shall choose you, one out of a thousand, and two out of ten thousand, and they shall stand as a single one (ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ).
>
> Logion 23 (86.1-3)

In some cases the same concept is expressed by the single word "one" (ⲟⲩⲁ; Logia 11, 22, and 106). Again putting aside Logion 22 for a moment, the other two are cited here.

> Jesus said: This heaven shall pass away and the one above it shall pass away, and the dead are not alive and the living shall not die. In the days when you devoured the dead, you made it alive; when you come into light, what will you do? On the day when you were one (ⲟⲩⲁ), you became two. But when you have become two, what will you do?
>
> Logion 11 (82.16-25)

> Jesus said: When you make the two one (ⲟⲩⲁ), you shall become sons of Man, and when you say: "Mountain, be moved," it will be moved.
>
> Logion 106 (98.18-22)

These logia just quoted all seem to entertain in common the same ideas: the original state of Adam as "male and female"; the division of man into "man" and "woman"; the subsequent fall of man; and the true salvation as the return to Adam's original state of androgyneity.[1]

This observation has been made by the present writer for a special reason. Klijn, in the aforementioned article, has recently advanced the theory that in *Thomas* "man has to become an asexual being" in order to be saved. He seems to base his theory on the doubtful assumption that the first man, Adam, was originally "asexual."[2]

However, if the word "asexual" is taken to mean, as it normally does, "having no sex" or "sexless," then the above concept of the nature of Adam as being "asexual" is totally irrelevant, for the Genesis account of the creation (Genesis 1:27) clearly states that God created him "male and female" in His image. Indeed, it is difficult to find anywhere in the Bible a single passage which speaks of "asexuality." It was certainly not the problem even with

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[1] Frequently three other logia (16, 49, 75) have been classed with the ones just quoted because of their inclusion of the term "solitary" (ⲘⲞⲚⲀⲬⲞⲤ). These logia, however, should not be included in the present category. They have nothing to do with the idea of "one" or "the single one" as the original state of Adam and therefore as the goal of man's salvation. Furthermore, these logia do not exhibit any connection with the Jewish-Christian thought-pattern such as displayed by the logia in which "one" or "the single one" occurs. For the same reason, Logion 114, contrary to its usual treatment by scholars, should be examined in a context entirely different from the present one. The last-mentioned logion as well as those three "solitary" logia will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter VIII, *infra*.

[2] Klijn, *op. cit*., p. 273. Klijn's statements concerning Adam's original nature are at times quite confusing and self-contradictory. For example, referring to Philo's exposition of the Genesis account of the creation, Klijn writes that Adam was regarded as

Paul, who wrote to the Galatians: "there is neither male nor female."[1]

Klijn specifically refers to Logion 22 in support of his theory of "asexuality."[2] It is, however, not fair to the text of this logion to deal with it solely within the context of what is called "Gnostic asceticism." To clarify this issue, attention should now be directed to this particular logion. It seems quite appropriate to bring this logion under examination at this point, especially since it contains such words and expressions that are already familiar to the investigator from the previous discussions as "image," "one," "the single one," "two," and "male and female." Logion 22 reads as follows:

> Jesus saw children who were being suckled. He said to his disciples: These children who are being suckled are like those who enter the kingdom.
> They said to Him: Shall we then, being children, enter the Kingdom?
> Jesus said to them: When you make the two one (ⲞⲨⲀ), and when you make the inner as the outer and the outer as the inner and the above as the below, and when you make the male and female into a single one (ⲞⲨⲀ ⲞⲨⲰⲦ), so that the male will not be male and the female (not) be female, when you make eyes in the place of an eye, and a hand in the place of a hand, and a foot in the place of a foot, (and) an image in the place of an image, then shall you enter [the Kingdom].
>
> Logion 22 (85.20-35)

This is one of the few logia in Thomas which begin with

"being male and female," while a little below on the same page, Klijn states: "According to Philo, the first man created according to God's image was an asexual being" (see ibid., p. 277).

[1] Gal. 3:28.

[2] Klijn, op. cit., p. 272, n. 6.

anything in the nature of a narrative situation. The opening words of Jesus reflect the familiar Synoptic saying: "Truly, I say to you, unless you turn and become like children, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 18:3 and parallels; cf. also John 3:3, 5).

Becoming childlike, however, according to the Gnosticist commentators, is evidently not enough to let the believer enter the kingdom of God. Grant and Freedman accordingly interpreted the second half of this logion to mean that "the two must become one; all earthly differences must be obliterated, including--especially --those of sex."[1] This last point, i.e. the "obliteration of sex," again reappears in their commentary on Logion 114, where it is stated that "the high point of Thomas' eschatology is thus reached, at the end of his gospel, with the obliteration of sex."[2]

The question, however, must be raised as to whether or not such an interpretation can be justified by the text of Thomas itself. Grant and Freedman rightly refer the reader of Logion 22 to the creation accounts in Genesis and state that "the original state of creation is to be reached through spiritual union."[3] Such a union, being "spiritual," would not necessarily require the obliteration of sex itself. Rather, the real problem to be solved is the dividedness between two sexes as a result of Adam's fall, according to Jewish traditions as referred to previously. In order to be saved, therefore, man thus divided must be reunited and become "one," but without necessarily losing his sex. Such a reunion already has its prototype in the original state of the first man, who, according to Rabbinic exegesis, was created at once male and female in the image of God. Such a union, therefore, should also be regarded as the state of salvation to which man must return.

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 143.

[2] Ibid., p. 198.

[3] Ibid., p. 144.

That is the message of Logion 22, when it reads: "When you make the two one . . . and when you make the male and the female into a single one, so that the male will not [just] be male and the female (not) [just] be female, . . . then shall you enter the Kingdom." This is something quite different from the "obliteration" of sex itself. There is no reason why Logion 22, as well as other logia referred to above in connection with such expressions as "one" and "the single one," should be interpreted solely against the Gnostic-ascetic background.

Contrary to Klijn's view, according to the Rabbinic interpretation, the first man was created "male and female," not "asexual." Adam was bi-sexual rather than sexless. The "oneness," which originally was Adam's, therefore, does not preclude sexuality. Salvation is to be achieved by returning to the original androgynous state of the first man, not by becoming "an asexual being" as Klijn construes Thomas. "The preaching of 'oneness'," says Klijn, "results in rejecting marriage."[1] This, however, is a wholly unwarranted statement in view of what has been discussed in the foregoing pages.

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[1] Klijn, op. cit., p. 273.

Returning to Logion 83, the preceding investigation now makes it clear that, despite the absence of canonical parallels, the logion nevertheless is based on the Jewish ideas of man's original state being "one," the subsequent division into "man" and "woman," and the return to Adam's original state as a bi-sexual being, all of which has to do with Jewish Rabbinic speculation. Although there are some inconsistencies and ambiguities in his arguments, Klijn may thus be appreciated to the extent that he has made the following general remark by way of concluding his interesting article: "The doctrine of the Gospel of Thomas was influenced by Jewish ideas about the original Adam being 'one'."[1] According to the conclusions of the present study, this statement would be correct if by "one" he were to imply the _androgynous_ state of the first man. However, he was actually thinking of the _asexual_, the view which came mistakenly to misinterpret the _Gospel of Thomas_ as reflecting the Gnostic-ascetic environment, and which cannot be maintained in light of what has been discussed in the preceding pages.

The present writer has also come to the conclusion that there is no need to exclude Logion 83, together with all the logia that have been treated in this chapter in connection with that logion, from the scope of a hypothetical "Ur-Thomas," which was Jewish-Christian rather than Gnostic in origin. It would seem that these logia, as well as others containing the term "hidden," offer no evidence of carrying anything that is radically "Gnostic."

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 278.

The term "hidden" occurs again in its non-Gnostic sense in Logion 96. It reads as follows:

> Jesus [said]: The Kingdom of the Father is like [a] woman, (who) has taken a little leaven [(and) has hidden (ⲁⲥϩⲟⲡϥ)] it in dough (and) has made large loaves of it. Whoever has ears let him hear.
>
> Logion 96 (97.2-6)

Besides the ordinary use of the word "hidden," which requires no further comment, there are in this logion certain elements to which special attention should be directed.

Essentially, the logion is a version of the familiar canonical parable of the Leaven (Matthew 13:33=Luke 13:20, 21; Q). However, one of the characteristics that stands out in this logion is the expression, "the kingdom of the Father," in distinction from the Synoptic phrases, "the kingdom of God" and "the kingdom of heaven," the latter of which occurs mostly in Matthew.

This expression, "the kingdom of the Father," appears in Thomas seven times (Logia 57, 76, 96, 97, 98, 99, 113).[1] Taking notice of this seemingly strange phenomenon, Gärtner argued that "behind this form of expression lies the Gnostic predilection, so evident in this gospel, for referring to God as the Father."[2] It is, however, highly problematic whether the manner of referring to God as the "Father" can only be characterized as "Gnostic." Thomas, it is true, frequently follows such a practice, but so does the

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[1] In addition, Thomas uses "the kingdom of heaven" three times (Log. 20, 54, 114), and just "the kingdom" twelve times in nine logia (twice in Log. 3, three times in Log. 22, and once in Log. 27, 46, 49, 82, 107, 109, 113).

[2] Gärtner, p. 213.

New Testament. It is found, for example, in the following passages in Matthew: "the righteous will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father" (13:43); "I tell you I shall not drink again of this fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom" (26:29). To these may be added also the following Lukan passages: "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom" (12:32), and the words of the Lord's Prayer: "Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come" (11:2; cf. also Matthew 6:9-10). There is, therefore, no reason why this form of expression combining the kingdom with the "Father" rather than with "God" or "heaven" should be limited only to the Gnostics. Far from that, the use of the term "Father" for God is characteristically Jewish.[1]

Gärtner further stated that "the kingdom of the Father" is "never used in the New Testament as a definite description."[2] This statement, however, should not be taken to mean that the New Testament lacks the concept of "the kingdom of the Father" completely, as shown by the foregoing references.

With regard to the matter of the use in Thomas of "Father" in the place of "God" or "heaven" in the Synoptics, Grant and Freedman also expressed their Gnosticist point of view. Commenting on one of Thomas' logia in which the word "kingdom" is accompanied by no additional elements, they stated as follows:

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[1] For a detailed discussion of the Jewish usage of the term "Father" for God, see George Foot Moore, Judaism, Vol. II (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927; 7th repr. 1954), pp. 204-11.

[2] Gärtner, p. 211.

> It should be noted that Thomas does not speak of "the kingdom of God." Indeed, "God" is mentioned only in Saying 97 [=Log. 100], where he is evidently subordinate to Jesus ("gods" occurs in Saying 31 [=Log. 30]). Wherever the synoptic parallels speak of God, Thomas deletes the word or substitutes "heaven" or "the Father" or "my Father." Like other Gnostics, he prefers not to use the ordinary term "God"; he may be reserving it for use as the name of an inferior power.[1]

In agreement with Grant and Freedman, Wilson also confirmed "the Gnostic character" of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas on the basis of its use of this presumably unusual designation for the kingdom, i.e. "the kingdom of the Father." According to Wilson, this expression indicates that "the God of the Old Testament is in the Gnostic systems degraded to the status of creator and ruler of this present evil world."[2] However, it is subject to serious question whether or not Logion 96 and others, where the phrase "the kingdom of the Father" appears, should always be read against the background of the highly developed Gnostic concept of the Old Testament God as an inferior creator of the present evil world. Admittedly, such expressions as "the kingdom" and "the kingdom of the Father" in Thomas to some extent differ from the usual New Testament usage. Yet, they certainly do not contradict the latter, nor do they violate the general principles set forth in the Bible regarding God and His kingdom. It may well be, therefore, that those seemingly unusual expressions simply reflect the kind of theological usage and concept held in the Jewish-Christian milieu to which the supposed "Ur-Thomas" belonged.

Considering the parable in Logion 96, it is to be noted further that here it is with "a woman" that the kingdom is compared, while in Matthew and Luke it is with the "leaven." Consequently, Grant and Freedman saw in this logion a change of emphasis and stated that "Thomas's emphasis, as usual, is on the action of the Gnostic, not on the work of God."[1] There is of course nothing surprising in this statement, since these scholars have consistently shown their tendency to look at Thomas from a "Gnostic" point of view.

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 121.

[2] Wilson, p. 27.

Wilson, however, takes a little more cautious attitude and regards this change of emphasis as "no more than a transmission-variant."[2] It may be added also that comparing the kingdom with a human figure rather than with a tool or material to be used by him is by no means a monopoly of Thomas. In fact, already in the canonical parables the kingdom is compared with "a man" (Matthew 13:24) and "a merchant" (Matthew 13:45), to say nothing about the parable of the "Sower" (Matthew 13:1-9). It is thus to be judged as an overstatement to say, as Grant and Freedman did, that Thomas has changed the canonical parables in the interest of Gnostic theology.[3]

While discussing the matter of the "parables" of the Synoptic type in Thomas, a general remark may be made to clarify the probable relationship between Thomas and the canonical Gospels in connection with the use of parables. It has been suggested by some scholars that *Thomas* was compiled on the basis of Matthew.[1] Support for this theory could be found in the fact that all seven parables that are contained in Matthew 13 occur in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*. For the sake of convenience, the following table shows these Matthaean parables, their parallels in other Synoptic Gospels, and the corresponding logia in *Thomas*.

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 187.

[2] Wilson, p. 96.

[3] So also Gärtner, who thinks that the "leaven" in Log. 96 "stands for the heavenly particle of light, or the spiritual element deposited in man, and the 'actualisation' of which leads to salvation" (Gärtner, p. 231).

Matthew 13		Parallels	Thomas
1. The Sower	(1-9)	(Mark 4:1-9 Luke 8:4-8)	Log. 9
2. The Tares	(24-30; M)		Log. 57
3. The Mustard Seed	(31, 32)	(Mark 4:30-32 Luke 13:18-19)	Log. 20
4. The Leaven	(33; Q)	Luke 13:20-21	Log. 96
5. The Hidden Treasure	(44; M)		Log. 109
6. The Costly Pearl	(45, 46; M)		Log. 76
7. The Dragnet	(47-50; M)		Log. 8

It is to be noted in this table that four of these parables (Nos. 2, 5, 6, 7) are peculiar to Matthew. This would seem to confirm the theory referred to above that *Thomas* is dependent upon Matthew.

It is, however, worthy of attention that the order in which these parables appear in *Thomas* is entirely different from that of Matthew. This leads the investigator to raise the question: If *Thomas* was based on Matthew, why did not *Thomas* follow the order of Matthew, instead of scattering the Matthaean parables so widely in his new Gospel? Obviously, the hypothesis of *Thomas*' dependence on Matthew breaks down at this point.

It is an acknowledged conclusion that Matthew has a tendency to group his material into large blocks. This is obvious from a simple comparison of the so-called "Sermon on the Mount" in Matthew 5, 6 and 7, with the corresponding passages in Luke where they appear widely separated and scattered.

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[1] Cf. L. Cerfaux and G. Garitte, "Les Paraboles du Royaume dans l'Evangile de Thomas," *Le Muséon*, LXX (1957), pp. 307-27, especially p. 315.

From all this it may be inferred that possibly *Thomas* used a different tradition, or at least had an independent access to the tradition from which Matthew drew. Such an assumption is certainly capable of explaining not only the difference of order in arranging those parables but also many variants that exist between the parables in Matthew 13 and those in *Thomas*.[1]

Admittedly, as one might argue, it may not be altogether impossible to assume that *Thomas* deliberately altered his materials so as "to be able to claim 'independent' traditions."[2] It is, however, more likely to suppose that those materials contained in the *Gospel of Thomas* probably reached the original composer of the "Ur-Thomas" through the Jewish-Christian circles in which the changes had already taken place.

To gain further insight into the matter of the often presumed connection between *Thomas* and the Synoptic Gospels, it may be pointed out that the last sentence of Logion 96: "Whoever has ears let him hear," takes the Matthaean form,[3] rather than that of Mark and Luke. In the latter case, as distinct from the former, the phrase "to hear" is added after "ears."[4] The formula itself does not pose any serious problem. Worth remembering in this connection is the remark made by Wilson that "the occurrence of the formula in other documents, e.g. the Gospel of Mary, suggests . . . that it had become proverbial."[1] Probably as such, it is encountered in Thomas six times--four in the Matthaean form (Logia 24, 63, 65, 96), and two in the form of Mark and Luke (Logia 8, 21).

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[1] E.g., the variants displayed by Log. 8 and 109.

[2] Gärtner, p. 212.

[3] Cf. Matt. 13:43.

[4] Cf. Mark 4:9 and Luke 8:8 against Matt. 13:9.

Also to be brought to attention is the fact that in Matthew there is inserted between the parable of the Leaven and the formula about the "hearing ear" a long section dealing with Jesus' use of parables and the interpretation of the parable of the Tares, but this intervening section (Matthew 13:34-42) is completely omitted by Thomas. The Gnosticist would explain this omission as a deliberate action on the part of the "Gnostic" compiler of Thomas on the ground that the intervening section was considered irrelevant for his purpose. It is, however, equally possible that the combination of the parable of the Leaven and the familiar formula in question was original in the tradition incorporated into the "Ur-Thomas," the intervening material being either a Matthaean insertion or due to Matthew's use of another tradition.

By now it is clear that there are in Thomas a number of logia in which canonical parallels or echoes are found.[2] Yet, at the same time, it should also be clear that none of those logia give exact reproduction of the canonical sayings. Furthermore, examination of those parallels and echoes shows Thomas' closeness to, though not necessarily his dependence upon, at least two of the canonical Gospels, i.e. Matthew and Luke. Mark scarcely comes into the picture,[1] while John seems to provide ideas and motifs rather than actual words.

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[1] Wilson, p. 53, n. 1.

[2] The "official" edition of the Coptic Thomas gives a list of "scriptural parallels and echoes" to all but 21 logia, though not all are in the Gospels; see pp. 59-62. For a convenient table of canonical parallels in Thomas with considerable differences from that of the "official" edition, see Grant-Freedman, pp. 108-109, and Doresse, pp. 378-83.

Evidently, the question of relationship between Thomas and the canonical Gospels is far more complicated than it would appear at first sight. At least it is now impossible to presuppose that Thomas drew his materials solely from any one, or even all four, of the canonical Gospels. The theory that Thomas took over a large number of Jesus' sayings from the New Testament, and subsequently recast them according to his "Gnostic" interest, is now itself to be subjected to rigorous re-examination.

Logion 108 offers still another instance in Thomas in which the term "hidden" should be understood to be used in the general non-Gnostic sense of the word. The logion reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Whoever drinks from My mouth shall become as I am and I Myself will become he, and the hidden things (ΝΕΘΗΠ) shall be revealed to him.
>
> Logion 108 (98.28-30)

As it now stands, this logion has no direct parallel in the canonical Gospels. A closer look, however, reveals that it carries some echoes of certain passages from the New Testament. The Johannine account of Jesus conversing with a Samaritan woman, for example, contains the following words: "Whoever drinks of the water that I shall give him will never thirst: the water that I shall give him will become in him a spring of water welling up to eternal life" (John 4:14). Elsewhere in the same canonical Gospel Jesus is also reported as saying: "If anyone thirst, let him come to me and drink" (7:37). To these may be added yet another passage from the last chapter of Revelation: "Let him who is thirsty come, let him who desires take the water of life without price" (Revelation 22:17).

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[1] One notable exception here is Log. 21, in which reference is made to the "sickle." Since the passage that contains this word is peculiar to Mark (4:29), it may be assumed that there must have been some kind of connection between this logion in Thomas and the canonical Gospel of Mark. Cf. Wilson, p. 73.

In spite of these New Testament affinities, Gärtner takes the word "hidden" in this logion as a "Gnostic" terminology, for he sees in it the Gnostic concept of the "mysterious knowledge which is only to be offered to the initiated."[1] This, he believes, is a piece of evidence in support of his consistent assertion that "it is the Gnostic teaching on the Risen Lord which is determinative for the Gospel of Thomas."[2]

Moreover, according to the same Swedish scholar, Logion 108 "states, as a condition for initiation into gnosis, that man must receive the secret from Jesus and that in this way a unity is created, so that there is a form of identity between the particle of light in man and the light which is the nature of Jesus."[3] For Gärtner, "to drink from the mouth of Jesus," therefore, is nothing other than an equivalent expression for "intoxication," which presumably is a Gnostic terminology.[1] Dealing with Logion 108, along with Logia 13a and 28, which will shortly be discussed in detail, Gärtner drew the conclusion that these three logia all "belong together theologically," and in this respect "the *Gospel of Thomas* has taken material from a syncretistic milieu."[2]

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[1] Gärtner, p. 131.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Wilson recognizes that Logion 108 has the New Testament parallels such as referred to earlier, but concludes that "despite its links with Biblical passages, logion 108 belongs to the Gnostic sphere."[3] He infers this judgment from the concept in this logion of the identity or union between the Savior and the saved, in agreement with what Puech has stated in connection with the second-century Gnostic *Gospel of Eve*. Referring to the only quotation from this lost Gospel, preserved by Epiphanius,[4] Puech wrote that the expression: "I am you and you are I" (ἐγὼ σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγώ), which occurs in that quotation, is "an almost stereotyped formula which is often employed in Gnostic, Hermetic, magic or alchemical texts."[5] Similarly, Grant and Freedman seem to suggest, as one might expect, that Logion 108 is "Gnostic" in nature, when they state that "the person who drinks from his mouth becomes one with him, as in various Gnostic writings."[1]

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[1] Gärtner discusses Log. 108 together with Log. 28 and 13a under the head of what he terms "The Intoxication of Knowledge" (pp. 128-34).

[2] Gärtner, p. 133.

[3] Wilson, p. 110.

[4] Epiphanius *Panarion* xxvi. 3. 1.

[4] Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 242.

Rodolphe Kasser understands that this logion gives a promise that the disciple who "drinks from the mouth of Jesus" will acquire an equality with his teacher. No longer will that disciple need the Revealer, since the divine secrets will be given him directly. Such a conception of independence of the believer in relation to his Savior, Kasser notes, is not at all in line with the teachings of the New Testament.[2]

What makes these scholars believe Logion 108 to be "Gnostic" in nature, evidently, is the relationship suggested by it between Jesus and the one who "drinks from his mouth." Kasser went far beyond the text of the logion itself when he referred to the needlessness of the Revealer. As for other scholars such as Wilson, Grant and Freedman, it is only necessary to remember that the idea of the "mystical union" (unio mystica) between Jesus and the believer has long been recognized by New Testament scholars as being present in Paul and the Johannine literature.[3] Clearly, such a union does not eliminate the need for the Revealer, even after the revelation has been given to the believer. Logion 108 thus has nothing to do with such a notion as Kasser spoke about. The idea conveyed by the expression: "I am you and you are I," does not need to be regarded as contradictory to the New Testament thought, nor is it to be considered wholly "Gnostic."

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 193. In addition to the passage from the Gospel of Eve mentioned by Puech, they also refer to Irenaeus Adv. haer. i. 13. 3, and the Pistis Sophia 96.

[2] Rodolphe Kasser, L'Evangile selon Thomas ("Bibliothèque Théologique"; Neuchâtel: Editions Delachaux & Niestlé, 1961), p. 116: "Une telle indépendance du croyant par rapport à son Sauveur n'est pas du tout dans la ligne néotestamentaire."

[3] The typical Pauline expression, "in Christ" (ἐν Χριστῷ), found, e.g., in Rom. 1:1; 2:2; 6:11 (cf. also Acts 4:2; 13:39; I Pet. 3:16; 5:10, 14), carries the same connotation of "union" as

Gärtner puts together the three logia in Thomas, i.e. Logia 13a, 28 and 108, and discusses them under the category of "the intoxication of knowledge." It is therefore appropriate at this point to take up each of them and see what validity his arguments hold. Logion 13a reads as follows:

> Jesus said to His disciples: Make a comparison to Me and tell Me whom I am like.
> Simon Peter said to Him: Thou art like a righteous angel.
> Matthew said to Him: Thou art like a wise man of understanding.
> Thomas said to Him: Master, my mouth will not at all be capable of saying whom Thou art like.
> Jesus said: I am not thy Master, because thou hast drunk, thou hast become drunk from the bubbling spring which I have measured out.
>
> Logion 13a (82.30-83.7)

This logion as a whole is another version of the Synoptic account of Peter's confession at Caesarea Philippi (Matthew 16:13-23; Mark 8:27-33; Luke 9:18-22). The most significant difference here is that Thomas takes the position of Simon Peter as the central figure in the story. This variant no doubt reflects a particular segment of early Christian tradition which was current among some Christians who paid special reverence to the apostle Thomas. As pointed out previously in Chapter III, the locality for such tradition may well have been found in the city of Edessa in

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suggested by the following passages in the Johannine literature: John 6:56; 14:20, 30; 15:2-7; 16:33; 17:21; I John 2:6, 8, 24, 27f.; 3:6, 24; 5:11, 20; Rev. 1:9; 14:13. The subject has recently been discussed briefly by Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (London: SCM Press, 1958), pp. 249-52.

northeastern Syria.

The last part of Logion 13a presents an echo of Jesus' saying rebuking a man who addressed him as "Good Teacher" (Mark 10:17; Luke 18:18; Matthew's reading is somewhat different). It seems to be indicated in this logion that Thomas was the only one who understood correctly the secret nature of Jesus, and therefore the only one who became "drunk" with the true knowledge of this secret. As Doresse commented, here "Jesus tells him that he has already drunk of the fount of divine wisdom and does not need to be taught by him."[1]

For Gärtner, such an idea of "intoxication from the Saviour's fountain" is characteristically Gnostic.[2] Furthermore, he thinks that the composer of this logion was working on his literary product on the basis of "an important principle among the Gnostics, namely, that knowledge of the heavenly things is in general impossible to express in words which men can grasp."[3] Thus it looks as if the Gnostic character of Logion 13a had been established beyond doubt.

The validity of these arguments, however, must be brought under close examination. The reason for this is that the Johannine parallels in this logion--the idea of drinking from the source of the water of life which is Jesus himself and the figure of the bubbling spring--are too conspicuous to be dismissed so easily.[4]

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[1] Doresse, p. 371.

[2] Gärtner, p. 131.

[3] _Ibid._, pp. 126-27.

[4] To these may also be added John 15:15: "No longer do I call you servants, . . . but I have called you friends, for all that I have heard from my Father I have made known to you."

These Biblical references together strongly point to the canonical, particularly Johannine, background of Logion 13a. Grant and Freedman, commenting on this logion, have stated that "the idea expressed in Thomas is quite similar to that found in John." "Jesus is not Thomas's master," they observed, "because Thomas has drunk from the bubbling spring which Jesus has distributed. This thought too is Johannine in origin."[1] The same thing may be said of the previous logion (Logion 108), although Grant and Freedman would show a considerable degree of reluctance in doing so.[2]

Taking all this into consideration, one may safely draw the conclusion that Logion 13a as a whole is nothing more than another version of the Synoptic narrative of Peter's confession. One remarkable feature here is the obvious attempt, on the part of the compiler of the "Ur-Thomas," to give Thomas the pre-eminence in order to accommodate the particular local tradition current among the Jewish-Christians in the city of Edessa, where Thomas had been venerated with great keenness. To go beyond this in the direction of Gnosticist interpretation is to read into the logion a preconceived notion of Gnostic "intoxication."

The last of the three logia under discussion in accordance with Gärtner's suggestion is Logion 28, in which the expressions of "wine" and "drunkenness" appear. It reads as follows:

> Jesus said: I took my stand in the midst of the world and in flesh I appeared to them; I found them all drunk, I

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 132.

[2] Without committing himself, Wilson mentions the possibility of recognizing in Log. 13a some connection with "the Philonic idea of a 'sober intoxication'" (p. 111).

> found none among them athirst. And my soul was afflicted for the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and do not see that empty they have come into the world (and that) empty they seek to go out of the world again. But now they are drunk. When they have shaken off their wine, then will they repent.

Logion 28 (86.20-31)

This is one of the few logia in Thomas which are arranged according to the principle of "key word" or of "common subject."[1] In the present case, it is the word "flesh" (ⲤⲀⲢⲜ; σάρξ) which connects this logion with the one that follows, i.e. Logion 29.

Logion 28 deserves special attention because it clearly presupposes the early Christian belief in the pre-existence of Christ in heaven and his incarnation in the world. When the "Prologue" to the Fourth Gospel in the canonical New Testament describes Jesus' appearance on earth by stating: "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us" (John 1:14), this logion makes Jesus to speak of his own coming in the first person singular: "I took my stand in the midst of the world and in flesh I appeared to them." Despite the difference in form of expression, the basic belief in these two passages is the same.

Gärtner, however, sees in this logion the Gnostic concept "that the heavenly Christ came to dwell in another being, Jesus, who was sarx."[2] It is not necessary, he maintains, to deduce from the words, "in flesh I appeared," an incarnation in the New Testament sense.[3] All in all, the logion, as he interprets it, presents nothing but "a Gnostic view of Jesus."[1] It presumably speaks of the Savior's appearance as a man, who took "only an apparent body, in the Docetic sense."[2]

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[1] Examples of such arrangements may be found in Log. 50 and 51 (key word: "rest"), Log. 25 and 26 (common subject: relationships with one's brother); cf. also Log. 49 and 50.

[2] Gärtner, p. 142.

[3] Ibid.

Commenting on Logion 28, Grant and Freedman find Jesus' appeals in the Synoptics similar to this logion.[3] These scholars also refer to the passage in the New Testament: "He was manifested in the flesh" (I Timothy 3:16).[4] "But," they conclude, "as a whole this saying [i.e. Logion 28] is closer to the description of the revealer given in the *Hermetica*, semi-Gnostic theosophical literature of the second or third century."[5] The passage in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, to which Grant and Freedman specifically refer, is found in the first tractate, known as the *Poimandres*, from the name of the revealer god who appears in it. It reads as follows:

> O peoples, earth-born men, who have given yourselves up to drunkenness and sleep and to ignorance of God, be sober, cease your orgies, bewitched as you are by irrational sleep.[6]

J. Jeremias discussed the Greek version of Logion 28 that has survived as Saying 3 in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment No. 1.[7] In this Greek Saying, as in Logion 28, the Christological formulae, such as found in the canonical writings (e.g., John 1:9; I Timothy 3:16), are placed in the mouth of Jesus himself, who speaks as "a divine being," looking back upon his pre-existence and incarnation. Jeremias particularly stressed three points in defense of the authenticity of this saying: (1) the saying is hardly post-Johannine; rather, it has "a mixed character"; (2) the whole saying has "a strongly Semitic flavour"; and (3) a consideration of "the subject matter" leaves no doubt as to its true character; it "surely brings us very close to the Jesus of history."[1] On the basis of these observations, he concluded that "there seems to be no reason why the saying should not be classed with those of the Fourth Gospel."[2] More recently, he reiterated his position in the following words:

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[1] *Ibid*. [2] *Ibid*., p. 143.

[3] Matt. 11:25-30; 23:37; Luke 13:34; cf. Grant-Freedman, p. 147.

[4] To this and the above-mentioned passages may also be added the following: Rom. 8:3; Phil. 2:7; I John 4:2; II John 7.

[5] Grant-Freedman, p. 148.

[6] *Poimandres* 27. This translation is taken from C. K. Barrett, *The New Testament Background: Selected Documents* (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 88.

[7] Jeremias, pp. 69-74; cf. also his article on "Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1," in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 104-10, especially pp. 106-107.

> In its opening words the logion, a lamentation of Jesus, approximates, in the way in which Christological formulations of the Church are put in the mouth of Jesus, to the self-testimonies of the Fourth Gospel and to the manner of speaking of the Gnostic redeemer; but with its reference to Isa. 53:11 and with its Semitizing speech it then strikes into the Synoptic field.[3]

Fitzmyer, also working on the Greek saying corresponding to Logion 28, generally agreed with Jeremias. He too reached the conclusion that "though there is no direct parallel to this saying in our canonical Gospels, there is nothing in it that prevents it from being regarded at least as substantially authentic."[4]

The matter of authenticity of a given logion is not the main concern in this dissertation. Yet, for present purposes, the opinions expressed by these scholars in favor of the genuine character of Logion 28 (or the Oxyrhynchus Saying corresponding to it) cannot be dismissed lightly. Wilson too, though with his usual reservation, stated that "there would appear to be no ground for rejecting the saying as a whole."[1] At least he seems willing to see in this logion "a development in a Gnostic direction on the basis of an authentic saying."[2]

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[1] Jeremias, pp. 71-72.

[2] Ibid., p. 70.

[3] Jeremias in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 107.

[4] Fitzmyer, p. 537.

Gärtner, however, raises his objection to the theory of authenticity of Logion 28 at two points. First, he thinks that the introductory sentence, referring to the coming of Jesus in flesh, contains the kind of Christology which "seems to be better suited to a Gnostic circle than to the New Testament and related literature."[3] Secondly, he insists that two words in this logion, "drunk"[4] and "empty,"[5] are "far from being typical New Testament words." To these two words he also adds still another,

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[1] Wilson, p. 42. Jeremias has done his exposition of this saying very convincingly. Wilson accordingly states that the theory advanced by Jeremias "must give pause to any who would claim it as entirely spurious" (*ibid*.). The judgment of these scholars should give pause to those who would read Gnosticism into this logion.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] Gärtner, p. 191.

[4] *Ibid*., p. 130: "'To be drunk' (or intoxicated) is a standard phrase in Gnostic texts, denoting the state of the ignorant man in the world without saving knowledge" (cf. also p. 190). Whether the word "drunk" is used in the negative sense (as in Log. 28) or in the positive (as in Log. 13a and 108), its "Gnostic" connotation must be recognized, according to Gärtner, pp. 128-34.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 191: "'Emptiness' is also a common Gnostic expression for describing man's ignorance." Against such a notion, the present writer should like to draw attention to the following passage: "for we brought nothing into the world, and we cannot take anything out of the world" (I Tim. 6:7).

"blind."[1] The combination of these "typically Gnostic" words makes him convinced of "the Gnostic character of the logion."[2] Thus he reaches the conclusion that "any attempt to get behind such a logion as this, in order to reach an older, 'more genuine tradition' is virtually impossible."[3]

Admittedly, the literary form given to the opening sentence of this logion would seem to suggest that the hand of a compiler or an editor of Thomas at a later time was at work. This would be comparable to the way the editor of the Fourth Gospel handled the Gospel traditions to which he had access. This is evident especially in those words of Jesus, referring retrospectively to his preexistence and incarnation, that are placed on his own lips.

Detailed examination of Logion 28, however, makes it evident that it has many close affinities with various concepts and expressions that are present in the canonical writings. For example, the phrase "in the midst of the world" receives much valuable light from a number of Johannine passages such as John 1:9-10, 3:17, 6:14, 11:27, 12:46, 16:28, and 18:37. The use of the term "world" in Logion 28 is typically Johannine. For "in flesh I appeared to them," reference should be made to John 1:14, I John 4:2-3, and II John 7, in addition to I Timothy 3:16 already quoted. Also "drunk" may be compared with I Thessalonians 5:7-8, and "athirst" with John 4:13-14, 6:35, 7:37, and Matthew 5:6. Behind the expression "my soul was afflicted" evidently lies Isaiah 53:11 (cf. also Matthew 26:38, Mark 14:34, and John 12:27). The idea of "spiritual blindness" may be found in John 9:39, Acts 3:17, and Matthew 15:14. "Empty they have come into the world and empty they seek to go out of the world" reminds the reader of Job 1:21: "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither" (cf. also Ecclesiastes 5:15), in addition to I Timothy 6:7 quoted earlier.[1] In this connection, Wilson's remark may also be remembered that the metaphor of "sleep" or "intoxication" for spiritual insensibility, on which Gärtner put so much emphasis, is in fact "too common to bear much weight of proof."[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 192. The word "blind," according to Gärtner, has a "close connection with the words 'drunk' and 'empty'," and occurs "frequently in Gnostic expositions."

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Thus, despite such Gnosticist interpretations as advanced by Gärtner, there is no reason to suppose that Logia 13a, 28, and 108, "belong together theologically," in the sense that they all originated in "the Gnostic milieu."[3] On the contrary, each of these logia stands closer to the world of the canonical writings than that of Gnostic documents. As one evidence for this, it may be mentioned that the reference to "flesh" in Logion 28 is more in line with the positive evaluation of "flesh" frequently found in the New Testament than with the negative attitude toward "flesh" common in Gnostic thought-systems.[4]

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[1] For the lexical meaning of the word "empty" (ϣⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ), see Walter Ewing Crum, A Coptic Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939; repr. 1962), p. 602.

[2] Wilson, p. 42.

[3] Gärtner, p. 133.

[4] It has been observed by Doresse that the concept of "flesh" is at least not rejected here in Logion 28, according to Wilson, p. 42. There is, however, something much more positive in the use of the term "flesh" in this logion. So far as can be determined from the text of this logion, there simply is no room for Gnostic Christology of Docetic type.

By way of concluding this part of the discussion in this chapter, it may be noted that there is nothing to prevent these three logia (i.e. Logia 13a, 28, and 108) from being included in the proposed "Ur-Thomas."

Finally, Logion 109 should be brought under surveillance as another example of the ordinary non-Gnostic use of the term "hidden." The original Coptic manuscript of the Gospel of Thomas is slightly mutilated at this point, so that the missing letters have to be restored in order to recover the damaged words. The logion thus completed reads as follows:

> Jesus said: The Kingdom is like a man who had a treasure hid[den] (ⲈϤϨ[ⲎⲠ]) in his field, without knowing it. And [after] he died, he left it to his [son. The] son did not know (about it), he accepted that field, he sold [it]. And he who bought it, he went, while he was plowing [he found] the treasure. He began to lend money to whomever he wished.
>
> Logion 109 (98.31-99.3)

Undoubtedly, this logion has the same motif as the canonical parable of the Hidden Treasure, which is peculiar to the First Gospel (Matthew 13:44). In the previous discussions on Logion 96 (the parable of the Leaven), references were made to some of the significant variants and related problems in comparison with the corresponding passages in the canonical New Testament --the designation of the kingdom of God (or, of heaven) as "the kingdom of the Father" or simply "the kingdom"; the difference in the object with which the kingdom is compared; the theory of Thomas' dependence upon Matthew's Gospel; etc. The same observations apply to this logion, and therefore need not be repeated here.

Gärtner refers to this logion as an "example of the way in which the parables of the kingdom in the Gospel of Thomas have undergone tendentious alterations so as to fit in with the new attitude to the kingdom of the Father."[1] Presupposing that Thomas took the parable in question from the canonical Gospel of Matthew (which is in itself a questionable hypothesis), he further states that "alterations to the New Testament text are considerable."[2]

Admittedly, there are some differences between this logion and the corresponding parable in Matthew. In the latter, the story is told of "a man" who, like the one who found a "pearl of great value" (Matthew 13:45, 46),[3] "goes and sells" everything he has and "buys" the field in which the treasure is hidden. In the version as it stands in the Coptic Thomas, three persons come into the picture: "a man" who originally owned the field without knowing that the treasure was hidden there; his "son" who, also unaware of the hidden treasure, received the field from his father and then sold it; and "the one who bought it" from the son and who, while plowing, "found the treasure" and profited from it.

Gärtner may be correct in saying that the main emphasis in the Matthaean parable is laid on the "bold venture" which the man undertakes in order that he may obtain the treasure, the "boundless immensity and value" of the kingdom of heaven.[4] Whether or not

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[1] Gärtner, pp. 236-37.

[2] Ibid., p. 237.

[3] The parable of the Costly Pearl, again peculiar to Matthew, also appears in Log. 76 of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

[4] Gärtner, p. 237.

Gärtner is on the right track, however, is less certain when he sees in the *Thomas* version of the parable that the emphasis is shifted to "man's unconscious possession of a treasure," and also to the "work" of plowing as a result of which the purchaser of the field found the treasure and became "enormously rich."[1] To Gärtner this change of emphasis is indicative of "a conscious focusing of interest on the kingdom within man."[2] He particularly stresses the significance of the "work" as he sees it in this logion, and goes on to state as follows:

> The particle of light belonging to the Father's kingdom is to be found there [i.e. within man], but most men are ignorant of the origin of their souls, imprisoned as they are in the material world. The fact that it is purposeful labour which is rewarded is entirely in line with Gnostic ideas, in which the search for salvation is "work" and "labour," though salvation itself means "rest." It can also be seen how the verb "to find" in the Matthean version--a man "found" the treasure--has been changed, so that it is the third man who tills the soil and finds the treasure.[3]

It is difficult to see how one can draw such a sharp line of distinction, as Gärtner insists on doing, between the tremendous effort of the man made in Matthew in selling all his possession to acquire the field and treasure hidden in it, and the "work" the third man undertook in plowing his field, not knowing (at least at the outset) that the treasure was hidden there.

Also to be noted is the fact that what the third man did, according to the text of this logion, was *not* "purposeful labour" as Gärtner presumed in the quotation above. Rather, the buyer of the field went out and, while plowing, quite incidentally "found" (as in Matthew) the treasure. Thus, the distinction which Gärtner attempts to make between the two versions is neither necessary nor possible.

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] *Ibid*., pp. 237-38.

In fact, as the present writer sees the logion, the theme in both versions is rather simple, when the Matthaean parable is viewed from the angle of the original possession of the field. The point is to look for the treasure. It might be hidden in your own field; therefore do your best to acquire the treasure and enjoy it, lest it should pass on to some one else who would surely profit from it!

In Logion 109 the original owner of the field and his son are meant to be two examples of those who have the treasure in their own field and yet do not know anything about it. These people consequently must lose the treasure entirely. The third man in Thomas' version who bought the field, on the other hand, actually corresponds to the man in Matthew who, through his hard work, acquired the treasure and "in his joy" profited from it.[1]

Grant and Freedman think that "presumably Thomas has taken a current popular tale and assigned it to Jesus."[1] Whether this assumption also applies to the Matthaean version of the parable of the Hidden Treasure, they do not say. It is probably more natural to assume that such a story must have been widely and independently circulated among various circles of people than to postulate a definite relationship between Logion 109 and its presumed prototypal tale.

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[1] Wilson, pp. 93-94, gives a brief account of other interpretations of Log. 109, more or less from the Gnostic point of view, advanced by such scholars as Doresse, Bauer, Bartsch, Grant and Freedman.

Gärtner, referring to such Gnostic writings as the Apocryphon of John (69. 9ff.), the Pistis Sophia (122), and the Hypostasis of the Archons (144. 25ff.), further suggested that the concept of "three persons" in this logion, as distinct from "a man" in the Matthaean parable, may have behind it "a doctrine of reincarnation" (Gärtner, p. 238). This, however, seems to the present writer to go far beyond what the text of the logion itself actually tells.

On the whole, there seems to be nothing to suggest that Logion 109 could not belong to a body of a collection of logia, i.e. the "Ur-Thomas," which in this study is believed to have been the original document underlying the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

* * *

This brings to a conclusion the present study of the "Ur-Thomas" in this chapter. It may be recalled that the discussion began with an examination of the Prologue to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. In order to determine the character of the Prologue, it was necessary to take a close look at two key phrases contained in the Prologue: "the living Jesus" and "the secret (or, hidden) words." Each of these phrases has been interpreted by the Gnosticist critics to offer support for the theory that the Gospel of Thomas is "Gnostic" in origin or in nature or in both. An investigation such as presented in this chapter, however, shows that the logia that have been examined do not necessitate such a theory.

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 194. Cerfaux, op. cit., p. 315, mentions two such "popular tales," one from Jewish Rabbinical sources (cf. also Strack-Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, I, p. 674), and the other from Aesop's Fables (Fable No. 42 in Hausrath's collection).

On the contrary, it has been shown that the two key phrases are not of necessity "Gnostic" at all.

It probably cannot escape the criticism of being premature if any definite conclusion is drawn at this point with regard to the nature, scope and actual contents of the proposed "Ur-Thomas," for the present chapter has not covered all the logia contained in the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas. Yet, it is not impossible to suggest, at least tentatively, that certain items are fairly conclusive in respect to the matter of the "Ur-Thomas."

Whether the Thomas logia were gathered together by an individual or a group of people, it has been shown that the hypothetical "Ur-Thomas" probably originated in a Jewish-Christian community. It is impossible, in the present state of knowledge, to mention any individual compiler or editor by name. All that can be said with any degree of certainty is that the "Ur-Thomas," like many other early Christian writings, probably was a community product. Furthermore, despite its claim to Thomas as its author, it appears to be essentially a pseudonymous document. As such, its nature and contents were basically determined by the Jewish-Christian character of the community which presumably produced it. The "Ur-Thomas" was born a characteristically Jewish-Christian writing.

The reason for the composition of such a document as the "Ur-Thomas" can only be surmised. Presumably, the community of early Christians everywhere was extremely interested in assembling as many sayings of Jesus as possible and to keep them--possibly partially for posterity but primarily for themselves so that they could be sure that they were living close to Jesus himself who spoke those sayings. In fact, those sayings not infrequently served even as magical sentences and inscriptions for amulets or incantation bowls. The history of a sayings-collection (Spruchsammlung), in all likelihood, is as old as the Christian community itself.

The "Ur-Thomas" was brought into existence by the Jewish-Christian community at Edessa. As the study in this chapter, and more specifically in the previous Chapter III, has shown, the occurrence of the name "Judas Thomas" (not "Didymos Judas Thomas") in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment No. 654, which corresponds to the opening portion of the *Gospel of Thomas*, sufficiently provides the reason for considering this particular Syrian city, Edessa, as the locale for the composition of the "Ur-Thomas."

The original language of the "Ur-Thomas" could have been either Syriac[1] or Greek.[2] In the light of the archaeological discovery in 1933 at Dura Europos on the Euphrates of a Greek fragment of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, the present writer is inclined to think that Greek was the original language of the "Ur-Thomas."[3]

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[1] So, e.g., A. Guillaumont, "Sémitismes dans les logia de Jésus retrouvés à Nag-Hamadi," *Journal Asiatique*, CCXLVI (1958), pp. 113ff. G. Garitte has also advanced the theory that the Greek version of *Thomas* is *secondary* to the Coptic (though not Syriac in his case) in his article, "Les 'Logoi' d'Oxyrhynque et l'apocryphe copte dit 'Evangile de Thomas'," *Le Muséon*, LXXIII (1960), pp. 151-73.

[2] Canon Turner is of the opinion that "at present . . . the balance of argument favours the hypothesis of a Greek original"; H. E. W. Turner, "The Gospel of Thomas: Its History, Transmission and Sources," in H. Montefiore and H. E. W. Turner, *Thomas and the Evangelists* ("Studies in Biblical Theology," 35; London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 17.

[3] Cf. C. H. Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura* ("Studies and Documents," 3; London: Christophers, 1935).

The foregoing discussion has also shown that the "Ur-Thomas" was probably the "fifth source" that presumably lay behind the Diatessaron along with the four canonical Gospels. The Gospel of the Hebrews, often mentioned as such an additional source of Tatian's work, cannot convincingly claim to be that "fifth source" because of the limited knowledge available at present about this lost Gospel. It may well be that Tatian drew much of the narrative materials for his "Harmony" from the four canonical Gospels, while the "Ur-Thomas" provided him with Jesus' sayings. The situation, then, may be considered as comparable to the work of the editors of the First and the Third Gospels in the canonical New Testament, who presumably drew narrative materials from Mark's Gospel, and sayings-materials from the hypothetical sayings-source commonly known as "Q." Tatian, of course, must have been well aware of the fact that the Gospel writings to which he had access already contained a great many sayings of Jesus. Even so, it is not difficult to imagine the ease with which he appreciatively made use of a collection of Jesus' sayings such as the "Ur-Thomas" at least as a supplementary document.

Chronologically, the probable use of the "Ur-Thomas" by Tatian for his Diatessaron, generally considered to have been written between A.D. 150 and 170, may well put the date of composition of the "Ur-Thomas" at a time no later than the middle of the second century. It seems safe to assume that the "Ur-Thomas" was probably composed in Edessa sometime during the first half of the second century.

The "Ur-Thomas" apparently had an opening sentence from the very beginning of its literary history, the "introduction" almost verbatim resembling the present Coptic "Prologue." The only difference between the two was the name of the alleged author, i.e. Thomas. In the "Ur-Thomas" his name must have been (in light of P. Oxy. 654) "Judas Thomas," not "Didymos Judas Thomas" as in the Coptic. So far as the present writer can discern, there is nothing to suggest that such an introductory sentence could not have been a part of the original logia-collection composed in Edessa under the name and authority of Thomas.

Finally, the "Ur-Thomas" must have contained a large number of logia that are contained in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. To be definite on this matter would mean a hasty conclusion, inasmuch as the present chapter has not given full attention to every one of the 114 logia in the Coptic Thomas. However, the investigation of at least some of them, even though the number may be relatively small, as presented in the foregoing pages, adequately supports this tentative conclusion just referred to. More specific mention of those logia which probably had no place in the original "Ur-Thomas" will be made in Chapter VIII. Suffice it to say that the number of logia that can reasonably be considered to have been included in the "Ur-Thomas" should be surprisingly larger than some investigators would suggest, especially those who take the more or less Gnosticist point of view in their interpretation of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

In the preceding pages it has occasionally been pointed out that the present Coptic Thomas has parallel documents, at least in part, in the so-called Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments. On the other hand, it has also been brought to attention that the name "Judas Thomas" appears in one of those Greek fragments (P. Oxy. 654). These observations, together with yet another fact that those fragments are written in Greek, not in Coptic, appear to suggest that there was some sort of connection between the "Ur-Thomas," the Greek papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus, and the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas. This will be the subject of discussion in the following two chapters, entitled respectively: "The Oxyrhynchus Thomas" and "The Coptic Thomas."

CHAPTER VII

THE "OXYRHYNCHUS THOMAS"

In more than one connection, during the course of foregoing discussions, mention has been made of three Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments, numbered 1, 654 and 655, and their relationship to the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas. It has been recognized that practically all the sayings of Jesus contained in these fragments are almost verbatim identical with some of the logia in Thomas. Such similarities consist in not only the actual wordings of the sayings but also the order in which the sayings appear. This naturally has stirred up scholarly interest to investigate the possible relationship between the Oxyrhynchus Fragments and the Coptic Thomas.[1]

It is now generally considered as established that these three Oxyrhynchus Fragments are part of the Gospel of Thomas, which has only recently been made available for scientific study in a

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[1] For brief accounts of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas in relation to the Oxyrhynchus Fragments, see Doresse, pp. 227-35, 337-38; Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 285, 295-97; Grant-Freedman, pp. 47-54. The Oxyrhynchus Fragments, in turn, are discussed by Schneemelcher and Jeremias, with their eye on the Coptic Thomas, in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 97-113. The question of relationship between the Oxyrhynchus Fragments and the Coptic Thomas is the particular subject of the following articles: Fitzmyer's aforementioned article in Theological Studies, XX (December, 1959), pp. 505-60; Otfried Hofius, "Das koptische Thomasevangelium und die Oxyrhynchus-Papyri Nr. 1, 654 und 655," Evangelische Theologie, XX (1960), pp. 182-92; G. Garitte's aforementioned article in Le Muséon, LXXIII (1960), pp. 151-73.

Coptic rendering.[1] In fact, the discovery, made by Puech in 1952, of the existence of a definite connection with these three Papyrus Fragments marked an important epoch in the study of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.[2] There seems no doubt today that the Oxyrhynchus Fragments in question present themselves as a Greek form of the Gospel of Thomas.

The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments thus identified may be called, as has often been done, the "Greek version" of the Gospel of Thomas or simply the "Greek Thomas." In this dissertation, however, the designation "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" will be used for the sake of clarification. It is employed to indicate the probable existence of at least three or more Greek copies of the Gospel of Thomas of which the Oxyrhynchus Fragments are part. It is further hoped that this designation will eliminate any confusion between this "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" and a Greek version of the Infancy Gospel "According to Thomas the Israelite Philosopher," as previously discussed in Chapter IV.

In the present chapter the writer intends to undertake two things: (1) to examine as closely as possible those logia in the Coptic Thomas which have corresponding sayings in the Oxyrhynchus Fragments; and (2) to provide grounds for the theory that the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" represented an intermediate stage between the "Ur-Thomas" and the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas in the course of literary development of the Gospel of Thomas.

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[1] So Fitzmyer, p. 552: "There can no longer be any doubt about the fact that the Oxyrhynchus fragments 1, 654, 655 are part of the Gospel according to Thomas."

[2] The story of how Puech was able to identify these documents is related by Doresse, pp. 227 and 337-38. Doresse wrote: "In July, 1952, I sent him a copy of part of the Gospel, including the beginning; he recognized that it was exactly the text which the Greek Oxyrhynchus papyrus 654 presented in a mutilated form. It was in 1954 that he pointed this out. In 1956, when the entire text of the Coptic work was divulged, he was able without further difficulty to verify the complete parallels to the Greek fragments of Oxyrhynchus 1 and 655" (pp. 337-38). More recently, Puech himself reaffirmed this as follows: "The three Oxyrhynchus papyri . . . must be linked together and ascribed to one and the same work, the Gospel of Thomas" (in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 297).

However, before entering into a detailed discussion of these Coptic logia, as suggested above, it seems appropriate to give a brief account of the three Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments themselves. Attention will also be given to various theories, particularly those expressed by the first editors, Grenfell and Hunt, and by the latest critic, Fitzmyer, concerning the Fragments' dates, sources and characteristics.[1]

1. P. Oxy. 1

Inseparably connected with the story of the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus Fragments are the names of two distinguished British scholars, Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, both sometime Craven Fellows in the University of Oxford. In 1897 they published a Greek papyrus leaf under the title: "LOGIA IESOU [ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗCΟΥ]: Sayings of Our Lord From An Early Greek Papyrus."[2] This twenty-page monograph, published for the Egypt Exploration Fund, contains the text of what is now known as P. Oxy. (=Oxyrhynchus Papyrus) 1,[1] with an English translation and notes, all edited and written by the same authors.

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[1] An extensive five-page "Bibliography of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings" is found at the end of Fitzmyer's article, pp. 556-60.

[2] B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗCΟΥ: Sayings of Our Lord From An Early Greek Papyrus (New York: Henry Frowde, 1897). Hereafter referred to as: Grenfell-Hunt, Logia.

The original manuscript had been found by Grenfell and Hunt during the previous winter when they were working at the small town called Behnesa (El Bahnasa), which is located on the edge of the Sahara desert, about 120 miles south of Cairo. This is the spot where once stood the capital of the Oxyrhynchite nome, a flourishing city in Roman times and one of the chief centers of early Christianity in Egypt.

The region of Oxyrhynchus as a whole, according to Grenfell and Hunt, was extremely fertile from the archaeological point of view, and indeed yielded "large quantities of papyri, chiefly Greek, ranging in date from the first to the eighth century, and embracing every variety of subject."[2] The particular fragment in question was discovered at the beginning of their work upon a mound in the same location. Out of this mound came a large number of papyri belonging to the first three centuries of the Christian era. Taking into consideration all available external evidence, such as the circumstances under which the fragment was discovered, the evidence of the handwriting with which the manuscript is written, and the fact that the leaf came from a codex (book), not a scroll, the editors were convinced that "the papyrus [i.e. P. Oxy. 1] was probably written not much later than the year 200."[1]

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[1] Numbered thus later by Grenfell and Hunt, The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part I (London, 1898), pp. 1-3. Hereafter referred to as: Grenfell-Hunt, OP I.

[2] Grenfell-Hunt, Logia, p. 5.

According to the description provided by these scholars, P. Oxy. 1 measures 14.5 X 9.5 cm. The height was probably somewhat greater originally since the bottom part has been broken off. Despite its smallness in size, however, the original editors felt it necessary to publish this fragment without delay because of its remarkable character as "a collection of Logia or Sayings of our Lord, of which some, though presenting several novel features, are familiar, while others are wholly new."[2]

In the reproduction of the Greek text as it stands in the original, printed in this monograph, there are altogether forty-two lines that are more or less legible, twenty-one on the upper-side page (which in this case, strangely enough, is the *verso* side) and the same number on the under-side (the *recto*). It may be added at this point that in the top right-hand corner of the *verso* side the numeral ια has been written by a later hand. This fact confirms the supposition that the leaf was so placed that the *verso* side came uppermost, since, as Grenfell and Hunt noted, "it was usual to foliate the right-hand pages of a book."[3]

Grenfell and Hunt divided the contents of these lines into eight Sayings,[4] which in their restoration and translation read as follows:[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6. As a numeral ια signifies "11" (ι′=10; α′=1); cf. also Jeremias' note in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 104.

[4] Grenfell and Hunt use the term "logion" or "logia" for these divisions of P. Oxy. 1, but the present writer prefers "Saying" or "Sayings" for this papyrus fragment (as well as for two other fragments, P. Oxy. 654 and 655), reserving the former designation ("logion" or "logia") for the use in the case of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*.

Verso

Saying 1 (lines 1-4): " . . . and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote that is in thy brother's eye."
(Thomas Logion 26)

Saying 2 (lines 4-11): "Jesus saith, Except ye fast to the world, ye shall in no wise find the kingdom of God; and except ye keep the sabbath, ye shall not see the Father."
(Thomas Logion 27)

Saying 3 (lines 11-21): "Jesus saith, I stood in the midst of the world, and in the flesh was I seen of them, and I found all men drunken, and none found I athirst among them, and my soul grieveth over the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart . . . "
(Thomas Logion 28)

Saying 4 (line 22): (No translation is given because only the traces of two letters are discernible in the middle of the line, which is all too scanty to afford a positive clue.)
(Thomas Logion 29)

Recto

Saying 5 (lines 23-30): "Jesus saith, Wherever there are . . . and there is one . . . alone, I am with him. Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I." (Unfortunately, the beginning of this remarkable Saying is mutilated.)
(Thomas Logia 30 and 77)

Saying 6 (lines 30-35): "Jesus saith, A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, neither doth a physician work cures upon them that know him."
(Thomas Logion 31)

Saying 7 (lines 36-41): "Jesus saith, A city built upon the top of a high hill, and established, can neither fall nor be hid."
(Thomas Logion 32)

Saying 8 (lines 41, 42): (Like Saying 4 above, no translation is given because the traces of letters in the middle of line 42 are very faint.)
(Thomas Logion 33)

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, Logia, pp. 10-15.

As mentioned previously, Grenfell and Hunt assigned the year A.D. 200 to this papyrus fragment as the date of its writing on the basis of external evidence. Internal evidence, however, made them believe that the date of its composition should be somewhat earlier. They have expressed their opinion in the following words:

> The primitive cast and setting of the sayings, the absence of any consistent tendency in favour of any particular sect, the wide divergences in the familiar sayings from the text of the Gospels, the striking character of those which are new, combine to separate the fragment from the "apocryphal" literature of the middle and latter half of the second century, and to refer it back to the period when the Canonical Gospels had not yet reached their preeminent position.[1]

Thus the editors took the year A.D. 140 as the _terminus ad quem_. In this connection they rejected the possibility that the fragment came from the _Gospel of the Egyptians_, the _Gospel of the Hebrews_, or indeed any so-called "Gospels." Rather, they saw in this small piece of early Christian literature "a collection of some of our Lord's sayings," which, "judging from their archaic tone and framework, were put together not later than the end of the first or the beginning of the second century."[2] So far as they were able to determine, that is the _terminus a quo_ of P. Oxy. 1.

Grenfell and Hunt further believe that these Sayings "embody a tradition independent of those which have taken shape in our Canonical Gospels."[3] In this fragment they also find "a concrete example of what was meant by the Logia which Papias tells us were compiled by St. Matthew, and the λόγια κυριακά upon which Papias himself wrote a commentary."[1]

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[1] _Ibid._, p. 16.

[2] _Ibid._

[3] _Ibid._

The question of "Gnosticism" in this papyrus fragment is briefly dealt with toward the end of their short but highly significant monograph. To postulate a Gnostic origin, as the editors see it, for the new sayings (i.e. Sayings Nos. 2, 3, 4, 8)--"new" in the sense that they at least do not have clear parallels in the canonical Gospels--would be "an easy explanation." It may be argued that support for such a "Gnostic" theory can readily be found in Saying 5. The editors, however, rightly point out that the "Gnosticism" of that Saying "is far from being ascertained." They indeed continue to state that "if the other new logia are to be branded as 'Gnostic,' it is difficult to see what might not be included under that convenient category." "Of the peculiar tenets of developed Gnosticism," they write, "we have here not a vestige."[2]

It is of course not impossible to assume that these new Sayings were preserved in Gnostic circles, and that these Sayings themselves show some trace of the tendencies out of which Gnosticism could develop. Even so, it does not follow that these new Sayings are therefore "Gnostic" inventions. Grenfell and Hunt readily assert this.

Thus, in the last sentence of their monograph, these scholars reaffirm their judgment not only of the "new" Sayings but also of the fragment in question (i.e. P. Oxy. 1) as a whole by stating that "whether free or not from Gnostic influence, the genuine ring of what is new in this fragment, and the primitive cast of the whole, are all in favour of its independence of our Gospels in their present shape."[1]

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[1] Ibid. Reference to the Papias statement regarding "logia," as preserved by Eusebius, has already been made; see Chapter II, supra.

[2] Grenfell-Hunt, Logia, p. 20.

2. P. Oxy. 654

In 1904, the same editors, Grenfell and Hunt, published two other papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus in a small monograph entitled: "New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel."[2] These fragments are known today as P. Oxy. 654 and 655 respectively.[3]

P. Oxy. 654, or what Grenfell and Hunt described as the "New Sayings of Jesus," is a long, narrow fragment, measuring 24.4 X 7.8 cm. It contains forty-two lines, of which, however, only the beginnings are preserved. The writing of these incomplete lines is in "an upright informal uncial of medium size."[4] Unlike P. Oxy. 1, which is a leaf of a codex, these "New Sayings" are written on the *verso* of "a survey-list of various pieces of land."[5]

This survey-list, according to the editors, is written in a cursive style that probably belongs to "the end of the second or early part of the third century," which is the terminus a quo for the writing of this fragment. Consequently, the editors assign to the "New Sayings" on the verso of the same fragment "the middle or end of the third century" as the possible date of their writing. "A later date than A.D. 300," they assert, "is most unlikely."[1] The manuscript of P. Oxy. 654 probably is slightly later than P. Oxy. 1, though both are almost certainly to be considered as "nearly contemporary."[2] All this ultimately means, as Grenfell and Hunt maintain, that the composition of these two collections (P. Oxy. 1 and 654) "must go back at least to the second century."[3] In fact, as in the case of P. Oxy. 1, the editors propose A.D. 140 for the terminus ad quem in reference to P. Oxy. 654, even "with greater confidence" than they felt about the earlier fragment in 1897.[4]

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] Grenfell and Hunt, *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1904).

[3] Numbered thus in the *editio princeps*, i.e. Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part IV (London, 1904), pp. 1-22, and 22-28. Hereafter referred to as: Grenfell-Hunt, *OP* IV.

[4] Grenfell-Hunt, *OP* IV, p. 1.

[5] *Ibid*.

The editors make a comparison between the "New Sayings" of 1904 and the "Logia" of 1897, and note certain similarities between them. In the "New Sayings" (P. Oxy. 654), as in the earlier series of Sayings (P. Oxy. 1), the individual Sayings are introduced by the simple formula: "Jesus saith" (λέγει Ἰησοῦς). There are here Sayings which to a greater or less degree have parallels in the Synoptic Gospels, along with Sayings that are entirely new. The uncial character of the handwriting, the absence of abbreviations and contractions other than those usually found in early theological manuscripts, and the careful punctuation by the use of paragraphus and coronis--these characteristics, according to Grenfell and Hunt, put both series of Sayings (P. Oxy. 1 and 654) in the same category of ordinary literary texts.[1]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 10.

[4] Ibid., p. 15.

The editors also think P. Oxy. 654 is remarkable because of the presence of (1) the "introduction" to the entire collection, and (2) a "conversation" between Jesus and his disciples, providing a context of Jesus' words (as in Saying 6 to be quoted shortly). These are the kind of literary features that are completely missing from P. Oxy. 1. Grenfell and Hunt assume that the present text of P. Oxy. 654 probably "represents the beginning of a collection which later on included the original 'Logia'."[2] This observation seems in tune with the fact that P. Oxy. 1 is the eleventh page of a codex, as pointed out earlier--suggesting that P. Oxy. I most probably was preceded by a series of Sayings put together in a manner common to P. Oxy. 654 as well.

Grenfell and Hunt divided the contents of the "New Sayings" into six components: Introduction and five Sayings.[3] The present writer, however, prefers to divide them into eight sections: Introduction and seven Sayings.[4] This division has the advantage of showing exact parallels between the Sayings in P. Oxy. 654 and the corresponding logia in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. P. Oxy. 654, thus divided, yet still in the words of Grenfell and Hunt's translation, reads as follows:

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

[3] Ibid., pp. 3-10.

[4] In this scheme, the "Introduction" of Grenfell-Hunt is divided into the "Introduction" and "Saying 1." In like manner, the last Saying, which is the fifth in Grenfell-Hunt's system, is split in the middle, providing the two Sayings, Nos. 6 and 7.

> Introduction (lines 1-3): "These are the (wonderful?) words which Jesus the living (lord) spake to . . . and Thomas."
> (Thomas Prologue)
>
> Saying 1 (lines 3-5): "And he said unto (them), Every one that hearkens to these words shall never taste of death."
> (Thomas Logion 1)
>
> Saying 2 (lines 5-9): "Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks . . . cease until he finds, and when he finds he shall be astonished; astonished he shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom he shall rest."
> (Thomas Logion 2)
>
> Saying 3 (lines 9-21): "Jesus saith, (Ye ask? who are those) that draw us (to the kingdom, if) the kingdom is in Heaven? . . . the fowls of the air, and all beasts that are under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea, (these are they which draw) you, and the kingdom of Heaven is within you; and whoever shall know himself shall find it. (Strive therefore?) to know yourselves, and ye shall be aware that ye are the sons of the . . . Father; (and?) ye shall know yourselves . . . and ye are . . . "
> (Thomas Logion 3)
>
> Saying 4 (lines 21-27): "Jesus saith, A man shall not hesitate . . . to ask . . . concerning his place (in the kingdom. Ye shall know) that many that are first shall be last and the last first and (they shall have eternal life?)."
> (Thomas Logion 4)
>
> Saying 5 (lines 27-31): "Jesus saith, Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden which shall not be manifest, nor buried which shall not be raised."
> (Thomas Logion 5)
>
> Saying 6 (lines 32-39): "His disciples question him and say, How shall we fast and how shall we (pray?) . . . and what (commandment) shall we keep . . . Jesus saith, . . . do not . . . "
> (Thomas Logion 6)
>
> Saying 7 (lines 40-42): " . . . Blessed is he . . . "
> (Thomas Logion 7)

Before taking note of Grenfell and Hunt's evaluations of these "New Sayings," it may be recalled that these scholars summarized their views of P. Oxy. 1 somewhat as follows: (1) the Sayings have no traceable thread of connection with each other beyond the fact of their being ascribed to the same speaker; (2) none of them imply a post-resurrectional point of view; and (3) they are not in themselves heretical, and though the asceticism of Saying 2 and the mystic character of Saying 5 are obviously capable of developing in Encratite and Gnostic directions, the Sayings as a whole are much nearer in style to the New Testament than to the apocryphal literature of the middle and end of the second century.[1]

The editors then take up these three points and see what answers are to be given to the corresponding matters in P. Oxy. 654. First, in the "New Sayings," as in the previous series, Grenfell and Hunt could trace no "definite principle or train of ideas" through the Sayings. "It is very difficult," they stated, "to believe that if 654 was part of a large collection of similar Sayings a connexion of thought could have been maintained throughout, and the Sayings in the later columns of 654 may well have been as disconnected as those in 1."[2]

With regard to the second observation, i.e. on the possible post-resurrectional character of the Sayings, Grenfell and Hunt's answer is again in the negative. According to them, there is not only nothing in these Sayings to indicate they were spoken after the resurrection, but there is "substantial evidence for the opposite view." The questions addressed to Jesus, in Saying 6 just quoted, for instance, "clearly belong to a class of problems which are known to have been raised by our Lord's disciples and others in his lifetime."[1] Thus, none of the seven Sayings in 654, as the editors see them, suggest a post-resurrectional point of view as much as the Third Saying in P. Oxy. 1 ("I stood in the midst of the world, etc.").

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 12.

An equally negative answer has been given by the same editors also to the question of theological tendency of the "New Sayings." There is, according to them, nothing to suggest that these Sayings originated in or even circulated among a particular sect. The Introduction, the First, Second, Fourth and Fifth Sayings, or even the Sixth and Seventh, so far as can be judged by the editors, show nothing heretical. Furthermore, the Encratite leaning, which has been ascribed to the Second Saying in P. Oxy. 1 ("Except ye fast to the world, etc."), is conspicuously absent in P. Oxy. 654.

Grenfell and Hunt, however, admit that the Third Saying in the "New Sayings," particularly the lines which read: "the kingdom of Heaven is within you," might well be called in question. "In some quarters," this Saying, like the Fifth in P. Oxy. 1 ("Wherever there are . . . and there is one . . . alone, I am with him, etc."), is often characterized as "Gnostic."[2] Even though Grenfell and Hunt do not mention it, the investigator ought to be reminded in this connection of the fact that the Fourth Saying ("A man shall not hesitate, etc.") is also quoted by Hippolytus, in his summary of "Naassene" teachings, as coming from the Gospel "according to Thomas."[1] The editors, taking this into consideration, think that there is a connection between these "New Sayings" (i.e. P. Oxy. 654) and the Naassenes through the "Gospel of Thomas." Even so, according to the same scholars, "to import Naassene tenets into the 2nd Saying [= Saying 3, P. Oxy. 654, on p. 216, _supra_] is not only gratuitous but a ὕστερον πρότερον [a reversal of the natural order of reason]."[2] This Saying, so Grenfell and Hunt continue to state, "if 'Gnostic,' presents a very primitive kind of Gnosticism, and is widely separated from the fully-developed theosophy of e.g. the _Pistis Sophia_." At any rate, as they assert, "the 'Gnosticism' of 654 is on much the same level as that of 1."[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid. Cf. Hippolytus Refutatio v. 7. 20. According to Hippolytus' summary of the "Naassene" teachings, the concept of the kingdom being "within man" is said to have occupied an important place in the whole system held by that sect.

These observations have led Grenfell and Hunt to their belief that the two Oxyrhynchus Fragments--654 and 1--both belong to one and the same work. These scholars stated this conviction in the following words:

> In all essential points, the date of the papyrus, the form of the Sayings, their relation to the Canonical Gospels, and the general character of the new elements in them, to say nothing of the parallelism of thought between the 1st and 3rd Sayings [= Sayings 2 and 4, P. Oxy. 654, on p. 216, _supra_] and the 5th Logion [= Saying 5, P. Oxy. 1, on p. 210, _supra_], the resemblances between 654 and 1 so far outweigh the differences that for practical purposes they may be treated as parts of the same collection.[4]

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[1] Hippolytus _ibid_.

[2] Grenfell-Hunt, _OP_ IV, p. 12.

[3] _Ibid_.

[4] _Ibid_., pp. 12-13.

It was indeed the genius of these two scholars that long before H.-C. Puech they already recognized the unity of these two papyrus fragments that became the center of scholarly interest during the period subsequent to their discovery. In conclusion, Grenfell and Hunt further stated thus:

> Even if it ever should be proved that the first page of [P. Oxy.] 1 did not coincide with 654, the two fragments so clearly reflect the same surroundings and mental conditions that we cannot regard as satisfactory any explanation of the one which is incompatible with the other.[1]

Grenfell and Hunt direct further attention to the unique "Introduction" (which in their scheme of division includes the First Saying also): "These are the (wonderful?) words which Jesus the living (lord) spake to . . . and Thomas, and he said unto (them), Every one that hearkens to these words shall never taste of death." Some of their observations concerning the matter are worth noting for the present study of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

First of all, the editors reject the idea that the Introduction is parallel to the passage in the Pistis Sophia in which a special revelation is given to Philip, Thomas and Matthew.[2] Rejecting, as noted earlier, the notion that the compiler of the "New Sayings" assigned his collection to the period after the resurrection, Grenfell and Hunt make their comment on the Introduction as follows:

> We are not therefore disposed to consider that the introduction to the Sayings, any more than the Sayings by themselves,

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 13.

[2] *Pistis Sophia* 42 and 43; cf. Chap. III, *supra*.

> implies a post-resurrectional point of view on the part of the compiler, still less that the background of the Sayings is at all the same as that contemplated in the _Pistis Sophia_, which belong to a later stage of thought than the Sayings. Hence we are not prepared to accept an analogy derived from that or any other similar treatise as an argument for thinking that the editor by his introduction meant to imply that St. Thomas or St. Thomas and some one else were the sole hearers of the Sayings. What we think he did mean to imply was that the ultimate authority for the record of these Sayings was in his opinion St. Thomas or St. Thomas and another disciple.[1]

These words of Grenfell and Hunt, written almost half a century before the discovery of the present Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_, may well be borne in mind in face of the Gnosticist point of view which is so popular today. This declares that the Prologue to the Coptic _Thomas_, as well as the entire collection of logia that follow in that Gospel, is thoroughly "esoteric" and "Gnostic."

Secondly, with regard to the occurrence in the First Saying of the familiar Johannine passage: "If any one keeps my word, he will never taste death" (John 8:52), Grenfell and Hunt express the opinion that "the editor of the collection lived in an atmosphere of thought influenced by those speculative ideas in early Christianity which found their highest expression in the Fourth Gospel."[2]

Thirdly, Grenfell and Hunt reject the theory that the Sayings were "extracts" from a narrative Gospel. Such theories had been advanced with respect to the earlier papyrus fragment from Oxyrhynchus, i.e. P. Oxy. 1. Harnack, for example, thought that P. Oxy. 1 consisted of extracts from the _Gospel of the Egyptians_,[3] while Theodor Zahn considered it to be a series of excerpts from the Gospel of the Ebionites or of the Twelve Apostles.[1] More recently, H. G. E. White assigned the Sayings to the Gospel of the Hebrews.[2]

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, _OP_ IV, pp. 13-14.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 14.

[3] A. Harnack, _Über die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu_ (Leipzig and Tübingen, 1897), _passim_.

Grenfell and Hunt were of the opinion that the collection of the "New Sayings," of which P. Oxy. 654 is a fragment, was intended to be an independent literary work, complete in itself, rather than a series of extracts from any of the known Gospels. They stated thus:

> No theory of the origin of the Sayings as a whole is to be considered satisfactory unless it at the same time provides a reasonable explanation of the fact that some one not later than the middle of the second century published the Sayings as specially connected with St. Thomas (and perhaps another disciple), and that the collection attained sufficient importance for it to be read, and presumably accepted as genuine, in the chief towns of Upper Egypt in the century following.[3]

This statement, as it appears today, probably needs to be revised to some extent, particularly in light of the newly discovered Coptic Gospel of Thomas. For example, the present dissertation shows that the place of origin of the collection and the locality of its dissemination must be distinguished from one another. Thereby fresh light is shed upon the question as to the origin of the Sayings that are contained in P. Oxy. 654.

Even so, Grenfell and Hunt's rejection of the theory that the Sayings were taken from a Gospel or other known documents of the same literary type has an important bearing upon the problems of the literary development of the *Gospel of Thomas*. Those scholars stated as follows:

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[1] Th. Zahn, "Die jüngst gefundenen 'Ausspruche Jesu'," Theologisches Litteraturblatt, XVIII (1897), pp. 417-20, 425-31.

[2] H. G. Evelyn White, The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus (Cambridge, 1920), passim.

[3] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 16.

> It is very difficult to believe that an editor would have had the boldness to issue extracts from such widely known books [as the *Gospels of the Egyptians*, *of the Ebionites*, and *of the Hebrews*] as an independent collection of Sayings claiming the authority of Thomas and perhaps another disciple.[1]

Such an action on the part of the compiler of the collection would indeed have been quite irreconcilable with the Introduction of P. Oxy. 654.

Because of the appearance of the name "Thomas" in the Introduction, no discussion on P. Oxy. 654 may be considered complete unless something is said about the matter of connection between the Oxyrhynchus collection in question and a "Gospel of Thomas" that had been known from patristic references. Dealing with this problem, Grenfell and Hunt made a rather interesting observation by stating as follows:

> If the Sayings are to be derived from it [i.e. *Gospel of Thomas*], the current view of the Gospel of Thomas must be entirely changed; and it is very doubtful whether this can be done except by postulating the existence of an original Thomas Gospel behind that condemned by Hippolytus. This would lead us into a region of pure conjecture into which we are unwilling to enter, at any rate until other less hazardous roads to a solution are closed. That there is a connexion between the earlier Gospel of Thomas and the Sayings is extremely likely, but this can be better explained by supposing that the Sayings influenced the Gospel than by the hypothesis that the Gospel is the source of the Sayings.[2]

This quotation is interesting because it vividly shows how the mind of those scholars operated at the time when they had not the slightest idea about the existence of such a document as the Gospel of Thomas which has nothing to do with the "Infancy Gospel" ascribed to the same apostle. In light of the Coptic Thomas, the existence of a "Gospel of Thomas," sharply distinct from the "Infancy Gospel of Thomas," can no longer be doubted. In the days of Grenfell and Hunt, to postulate "the existence of an original Thomas Gospel behind that condemned by Hippolytus" would have meant to enter into "a region of pure conjecture." Today, however, it is no longer necessary to speak of an "original" Thomas Gospel, and there is no danger of getting involved in mere speculation, as Grenfell and Hunt once feared, since it is unmistakably clear today that there were at least two "Gospels" bearing the name of Thomas, one dealing mainly with the childhood stories of Jesus, and the other consisting solely of some one hundred and fourteen logia attributed to Jesus.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 17.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 19.

Essentially, Grenfell and Hunt were right in rejecting the idea of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings being extracts from a "Gospel of Thomas." However, they missed the target when they at the same time stated that it is "extremely likely" that there is "a connexion between the earlier Gospel of Thomas and the Sayings." They of course looked to the "Infancy Gospel of Thomas," the only then known Gospel of Thomas, assuming that was the book the Church Fathers referred to as the "Gospel of Thomas." However, now that the world possesses the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, it puts an entirely different picture on the whole situation. It is no longer the question of an "earlier" Gospel of Thomas but of another, wholly different Gospel of Thomas.

Grenfell and Hunt's final comments concern the question as to the genuineness of the new Sayings contained in the Oxyrhynchus fragments. Immediately following the publication by these scholars of the first series of Sayings, i.e. P. Oxy. 1, scholars such as Swete, Rendel Harris, Lock, and Heinrici began to express the opinion that the fragment was "a collection of Sayings independent of the [canonical] Gospels and belonging to the first century."[1] At the same time, there were others (notably Sanday) who held the view that the new Sayings in P. Oxy. 1 were "the product of the early second century, not directly dependent on the Canonical Gospels, but having 'their origin under conditions of thought which these Gospels had created' (Sanday)."[2] This latter position carries with it the denial of new and genuine elements in the papyrus altogether. Dealing with P. Oxy. 1 and 654 together, Grenfell and Hunt then threw out their question as follows:

> Are we . . . to regard the whole collection [i.e. P. Oxy. 1 and 654] as a free compilation in the early part of the second century, by an Alexandrian Jewish-Christian, of Sayings ultimately derived from the Canonical Gospels, and very likely the Gospels according to the Hebrews and Thomas, and perhaps others as well; and shall we dismiss the new elements, except the 1st Saying in 654 [=Saying 2, according to the present writer's division], as the spurious accretions of an age of philosophic speculation, and surroundings of dubious orthodoxy? . . . Or are we rather to consider 1 and 654 to be fragments of an early collection of our Lord's Sayings in a form which has been influenced to some extent by the thought and literature of the apostolic and post-apostolic age, and which may well itself have influenced the Gospel of Thomas and perhaps others of the heretical Gospels, but which is ultimately connected in a large measure with a first-hand source other than that of any of the Canonical Gospels?[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., pp. 21-22.

It is interesting to note that much the same questions are being raised by scholars today with respect to the recently unearthed Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_. Although it is fairly certain that Grenfell and Hunt favor the latter of the two alternatives offered by themselves in the form of the question just quoted, they seem to be content to state with reserve that "for a really weighty and perfectly unbiassed estimate of the ultimate value of any new discovery, resort must be made to some other quarter than the discoverers."[1] Obviously, the problem that the investigator of the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_ must face is not an easy one. This is apparent from the fact that today a wide variety of views are held by the scholars working on the Coptic _Thomas_, in much the same way as it was in the past when the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments were the main subject of scholarly concern everywhere.

3. _P. Oxy. 655_

Another papyrus manuscript that came from Oxyrhynchus and was published in 1904 by the same discoverers, Grenfell and Hunt, is the so-called "Fragment of a Lost Gospel," or, as it has come to be known, P. Oxy. 655. Actually, it consists of eight small portions that were part of a papyrus roll. Of these tiny pieces, the largest measures 8.2 X 8.3 cm, and comprises roughly the middle third of one column and a small fraction of the next. To this Grenfell and Hunt fitted the second largest piece. Of these two combined portions, the first twenty-three lines and, to a less degree, the last six lines (lines 41-46, according to Grenfell and Hunt's numbering) have turned out to be legible. The remaining six pieces contain the traces of only a few letters, with the words too fragmentary to be identifiable.[1]

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[1] _Ibid_., p. 22.

According to the editors, the handwriting of P. Oxy. 655 is "a small uncial of the common sloping oval type," which is considered by them as belonging to the second, third and fourth century. More specifically, they believe that "655 is a well-written specimen, suggesting, on the whole, the earlier rather than the later period during which this hand was in vogue, and though we should not assign it to the second century, it is not likely to have been written later than A.D. 250."[2]

As mentioned above, Grenfell and Hunt, in a photographic plate, put together all the pieces that together constitute P. Oxy. 655 in the manner that presumably shows the original sequence of order as the editors saw them. The left-hand column (Column I) of the largest fragment is thus joined by a small piece on the top of it and by another at the bottom. Together, these three make up the first column, containing twenty-eight lines. Since, however, the last five lines of Column I are so badly mutilated, only the first twenty-three lines (lines 1-23) are restored and translated by the editors.

There are two Sayings contained in the first column thus reconstructed. They are given below in the original rendering of Grenfell and Hunt.

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[1] Ibid., pp. 23-24; cf. also Plate II at the end of the same volume.

[2] Ibid., pp. 22-23.

> Saying 1 (Column I, lines 1-17): "(Take no thought) from morning until even nor from evening until morning, either for your food what ye shall eat or for your raiment what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye (lack?) . . . Who could add to your stature? He himself will give you your garment.
>
> (Thomas Logion 36)

> Saying 2 (Column I, lines 17-23): "His disciples say unto him, When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee? He saith, When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed . . .
>
> (Thomas Logion 37)

As for the second column (Column II), the task of reconstruction is obviously much more difficult than the first column, on account of the fact that the right-hand part of the largest fragment preserves only the beginnings of each line, and also that the small piece which is placed above these beginnings by the editors contains also only one or two letters of each of some ten lines. No attempt, therefore, was made by the editors to recover this portion of Column II (lines 29-40). Because of the great extent of damage, the lower several lines in Column II are also left untranslated. The remaining lines in Column II are preserved relatively better than those just mentioned. These lines appear to contain only one Saying. In the words of Grenfell and Hunt, it reads as follows:

> Saying 3 (Column II, lines 41-46): " . . . He said, The key of knowledge ye hid; ye entered not in yourselves and to them that were entering in ye opened not."
>
> (Thomas Logion 39)

From the references given at the end of the three above-quoted Sayings, it may readily be seen that the sequence of Thomas' logia corresponding to these Sayings is broken between Logia 37 and 39 and possibly after 39. However, whether Logia 38 and 40 of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas were also contained originally in the Greek text of P. Oxy. 655 cannot of course be determined with any degree of certainty. One can only say, with Schneemelcher, that "that may be conjectured."[1]

It is important to remember that Grenfell and Hunt gave their article on P. Oxy. 655 the title: "Fragment of a Lost Gospel," both in the original monograph and in the editio princeps of 1904, because it indicates their view that P. Oxy. 655, unlike 1 and 654, came from a "Gospel," rather than from a "sayings-collection." In fact, they consider this "lost Gospel" to have been "of a Synoptic type."[2] What seems to the editors to be of prime importance, however, is the fact that P. Oxy. 655 contains a Saying (Saying 2 above) which consists of the question put to Jesus by his disciples and his answer to them.

It has been known for many years that Clement of Alexandria has a quotation from the Gospel of the Egyptians, in which Salome asked Jesus about the time when "what she had inquired about would be known."[3] To this question of hers Jesus answered, "When you have trampled on the garment of shame and when the two become one and the male with the female (is) neither male nor female." It is also known that, according to the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, of the middle of the second century, Jesus answered

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[1] Schneemelcher in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 113.

[2] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 27.

[3] Clement of Alexandria Stromateis iii. 13. 92. This quotation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 168.

Salome, who had asked him when his kingdom should come, by saying: "When the two shall be one and that which is without as that which is within, and the male with the female neither male nor female."[1]

In the presence of these parallels, Grenfell and Hunt assumed that the Gospel, of which P. Oxy. 655 is a fragment, "clearly belongs to the same sphere of thought" as the Gospel of the Egyptians and the uncanonical Gospel or collection of Sayings used by the author of the Second Epistle of Clement. Yet the editors were not able to find any positive evidence that P. Oxy. 655 actually belonged to any of the known apocryphal Gospels. They stated as follows:

> The Gospel from which 655 comes is likely to have been composed in Egypt before A.D. 150, and to have stood in intimate relation to the Gospel according to the Egyptians and the uncanonical source used by the author of II Clem. Whether it was earlier or later than these is not clear.[2]

There remains the question of "the likelihood of a genuine element" in the story of the disciples' question and Jesus' answer to them, as preserved in Saying 2 under discussion. The fact that the story is preserved in three versions--i.e. in the Gospel of the Egyptians, the Second Epistle of Clement, and P. Oxy. 655, excluding the fourth version in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas--apparently led Grenfell and Hunt to admit "at least some elements of genuineness" of the account.[3] Thus they considered this story to be "one of the most important and remarkable, and, since the discovery of

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[1] II Clem. 12:1-2; quoted in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 168-69.

[2] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 28.

[3] Ibid.

655, one of the better attested, of the early *Agrapha*."[1]

No effort, however, was made by the same editors to bring P. Oxy. 655 into association with P. Oxy. 1 and 654 in any way. Evidently, this did not occur to them as a possibility since they were firmly convinced that while the two earlier Fragments from Oxyrhynchus (1 and 654) belonged to one and the same Sayings-collection, the last one (655) came from an unknown Gospel of a Synoptic type that has long since been lost.

Today, there is little doubt that not only the first two but all three of the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments are to be put together and considered as part of a collection of Jesus' Sayings, which was probably circulated among the early Egyptian Christians of the second century and the following centuries under the name and authority of the apostle Thomas.

Under such circumstances, it is obvious that the recent discovery of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* is destined to initiate an extremely important epoch of renewed research regarding the literary history of the Oxyrhynchus manuscripts. Conversely, these Greek fragments have bearings of great importance upon the course and direction of present and future study into the literary history of the *Gospel of Thomas*.

For those whose main interest lies in the Oxyrhynchus Fragments, the newly discovered Coptic *Thomas* sheds new light. Thus the critics of today, notably Fitzmyer, are now in a far better position to reconstruct and re-examine the Oxyrhynchus manuscripts than Grenfell, Hunt, Harnack, Zahn, or White (to mention only a few) were during the early decades of this century.

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[1] *Ibid*.

For those who are working primarily on the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_, as is the case with the present writer, the Sayings-fragments from Oxyrhynchus prove to be of unsurpassed value. Particularly for the study of the literary history of _Thomas_, knowledge of these manuscripts is indispensable, for it is solely on the basis of these precious pieces of Greek papyrus that the investigator can obtain any insight at all into the matter with which the present study is primarily concerned.

Moreover, there are evidences that the three Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments so far discussed represent Greek versions of the _Gospel of Thomas_. In all probability, those Greek versions, or, to use the comprehensive term, the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas," stood halfway, both in point of time and material, between what the present writer has been calling the "Ur-Thomas" and the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_. The remaining pages in this chapter, therefore, will be devoted to a comparative study of some of the _Thomas_ logia and the Oxyrhynchus Sayings that correspond to them.

Since the days of Grenfell and Hunt nearly sixty years ago, various attempts have been made by a number of critics to restore the mutilated lines of the three Oxyrhynchus Fragments reviewed in the preceding pages. In light of the new Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_, some of the readings suggested by those scholars, including the original discoverers and editors, have been given added support. Other proposals are now shown worthy of being dismissed as wholly gratuitous.

In any event, it is important for the investigator constantly to keep his eye on the Oxyrhynchus Sayings, especially to see how they can be restored with the assistance of the present Coptic *Thomas*. In the following pages, therefore, reference will often be made to the work of Fitzmyer, who has offered the latest and most detailed attempt at a reconstruction of the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments on the basis of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*.

* * *

During the course of discussions in the foregoing pages, attention has been directed in more than one connection to the Prologue to the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*. Especially in the preceding Chapter VI, it was shown that the two key phrases that are found in the Prologue, namely, "the living Jesus" and "the secret words," need not necessarily be interpreted as representing any so-called "Gnostic" character of the Prologue and the logia that follow. A comparison with the corresponding Introduction in P. Oxy. 654, so far as the present writer can determine, confirms the above-mentioned conclusion.

In order to provide the basis for this reasoning, however, it seems necessary here to register a few remarks on the way in which the Oxyrhynchus Introduction has been restored by the original editors, Grenfell and Hunt, and by one of the most recent critics, Fitzmyer.

In line 2 of P. Oxy. 654, where the original manuscript reads: ΛΗΣΕΝ Ι̅Η̅Σ̅ Ο ΖΩΝ Κ[. . . , Grenfell and Hunt were not at all certain how the original reading in the lacuna following the letter Κ should be reconstructed. Consequently, they read κ[ύριος, with a question mark after it, showing that they themselves were not really satisfied nor convinced by the reading.[1] Beyond that, they were unable to find any other words or letters to complete the line.

Evidently, Grenfell and Hunt had in mind the name of a disciple with which to fill up the remaining space in the same line. Such a disciple ought to be one other than Thomas,[2] since line 3 begins with his name: ΚΑΙ ΘΩΜΑ. The form of the name of Thomas here, which usually but not necessarily suggests the dative case, led the editors to believe that the name of the other disciple must have appeared also in the dative, indicating that both he and Thomas, presumed to appear in the Introduction, were the indirect objects of Jesus' speaking. Thus, according to the way in which Grenfell and Hunt reconstructed the Introduction, it was to this unknown disciple and Thomas that Jesus the living spoke his words, as these scholars repeatedly maintained in their articles on P. Oxy. 654.

Fitzmyer, however, has suggested a somewhat different reading of the first lines of P. Oxy. 654. Taking into consideration the Coptic text of the corresponding lines in the new *Gospel of Thomas* from Nag Hammadi, and also the approximate number of letters which are presumably missing from the Oxyrhynchus text,[1] he has reconstructed the Introduction as follows:[2]

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, *OP* IV, p. 4, frankly admitted that "κ[ύριος is very doubtful."

[2] *Ibid*. Here Grenfell and Hunt thought of Φιλίππῳ or Ματθίᾳ (following Zahn in place of Ματθαίῳ) as a possibility, in the light of passages from the *Pistis Sophia* where Thomas, Philip, and Matthew (Matthias?) are referred to as the recipients of a special revelation.

> Οὗτοι οἱ {οι} λόγοι οἱ [ἀπόκρυφοι οὓς ἐλά]
> λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν κ[αὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰούδας ὁ]
> καὶ Θωμᾶ⟨ς⟩.

Translated into English, it reads: "These are the [hidden] words [which] the living Jesus [sp]oke, an[d Judas who] (is) also (called) Thomas [wrote (them) down]."[3]

A few items of importance in this reconstruction may be noted. First, the dittographical article οι before the noun λόγοι in the first line is now deleted, against Grenfell and Hunt, but in agreement with the majority of the subsequent critics (such as Swete, Heinrici, Taylor, Willamowitz-Moellendorf, and White).[4]

Secondly, the adjective "hidden" is supplied to modify the noun "words," instead of "wonderful" which was reservedly suggested by Grenfell and Hunt. The new reading makes the total number of letters in the first line thirty-one, which is to be considered as normal.

Thirdly, and more importantly than the preceding two for the present study, the second half of line 2 is now restored so as to give the name of only one person: "Judas who (is) also (called)

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[1] The normal number of letters on a line in P. Oxy. 654 is counted by Fitzmyer as approximately thirty (Fitzmyer, p. 511).

[2] Following the system of the Greek papyrologists, Fitzmyer uses square brackets [ ] to denote the restoration of lacunae, parentheses () to denote the resolution of abbreviations, angular brackets ⟨ ⟩ to denote his editorial additions, and braces { } to denote his editorial deletions (ibid., pp. 512-13, n. 29).

[3] Ibid., p. 513.

[4] Line 1 may be compared with, e.g., Luke 24:44, οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὓς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, κ.τ.λ.

Thomas." Restored thus, the line now contains twenty-nine letters, which again is normal.

The question may be raised if the Johannine designation for the apostle, "Thomas who is called Didymos" (Θωμᾶς ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος; John 11:16; 20:24; 21:2) might not be read here in place of "Judas who is also called Thomas." This, however, is obviously impossible because the position of "also Thomas" (καὶ Θωμᾶ⟨ς⟩) in line 3 does not permit such a reading.

It is particularly significant that the double designation for the apostle Thomas, combining his name with "Judas," should be recovered here. As discussed previously in Chapter III, this double form points not only to the particular geographical region where the "Judas Thomas" tradition was current, but also to an earlier stage in the course of literary development of the *Gospel of Thomas* than the one suggested by the peculiar triple name, "Didymos Judas Thomas," which occurs in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*.

Also to be noted in the reconstruction of Fitzmyer is the fact that "Judas who is also called Thomas" is now the subject of the sentence. This means that the form "Thoma" in P. Oxy. 654, line 3, requires an explanation with respect to its grammatical case. Here it may be recalled that the word "twin" is *t^{e}ʾôm* in Hebrew, *t^{e}ʾômâ* in Aramaic, and *tâʾmâ* in Syriac.[1] It may well be, therefore, that the omission of the final "s" of the name Thomas in the Oxyrhynchus Introduction was caused by the Aramaic-Syriac sound ending with -a. There is of course always the possibility of scribal errors in the process of textual transmission. At any rate, there seems to be no obvious reason why in the work of reconstruction the letter "s" should not be supplied at the end of "Thoma," as Fitzmyer has suggested. Thus it is neither necessary nor desirable to take "Thoma" as a dative, as most former scholars did.[1]

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[1] The matter has already been referred to previously in Chap. III, *supra*. Cf. also Fitzmyer, p. 515.

It is, however, to be regretted that Fitzmyer identified the real name of the apostle as "Judas the Twin."[2] For the reason previously discussed in Chapter III, it seems to the present writer more likely that the apostle's name originally was "Thomas," which, as Fitzmyer himself recognized, was "a genuine Greek name."[3] The original compiler of the Sayings-collection (i.e. the "Ur-Thomas"), or the community that stood behind the document, not only knew of the apostle Thomas but also paid special reverence to him. That is most likely the reason why a literary work consisting of the alleged sayings of Jesus was produced and circulated under the name of Thomas, so that it would be accepted as authoritative by the early Christians who lived in the region where there was a special tradition in existence with regard to the apostle Thomas, i.e. Edessa in Syria. If, on the other hand, the original name of the apostle were "Judas the Twin," as Fitzmyer seems to insist, then it would be difficult to explain why the collection has come to bear the name of "Thomas," not "Judas." It would be even more difficult to find a particular geographical locality which produced or preserved a special tradition about "Judas," presumably the "twin" brother of Jesus. In short, there is little doubt that it was "Thomas," not "Judas," no matter what additional elements these names may carry with them, that occupied the chief position in the whole course of production, preservation, and transmission of the Sayings-collection now known as the Gospel of Thomas.

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[1] It is interesting to note that K. Lake, "The New Sayings of Jesus and the Synoptic Problem," Hibbert Journal, III (1904-1905), p. 339, suggested that the name "Judas Thomas" be read here but in the dative: Ἰούδᾳ τῷ] καὶ Θωμᾷ; cf. Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 4; Fitzmyer, p. 515.

[2] Fitzmyer, p. 515.

[3] *Ibid.*

From what has been said in the preceding pages the following observations may now be made. First, so far as can be judged from the form of designation for the alleged compiler of the present Sayings-collection, it is evident that P. Oxy. 654, with the double name of a Syrian type, i.e. "Judas (who is also called) Thomas," represents a stage of development, both in point of time and content, earlier than the one to which the Coptic Gospel of Thomas belonged.

Furthermore, the form "Thoma" seems to suggest that, even though P. Oxy. 654 was unearthed in Egypt, it did not originally belong in that part of the world. Instead, there is a good reason to believe that the strange form "Thoma" without the final "s," reflecting the Aramaic-Syriac sound, almost certainly points to the Syrian city of Edessa. That probably was where this original collection of Jesus' Sayings was composed.

It is surprising, indeed, to note in this connection that the Egyptian scribe must have copied the original document very carefully and faithfully--in fact so faithfully that even the unusual form "Thoma" remained unchanged. Here may be found a piece of evidence that the Gospel of Thomas was originally written in Greek rather than in Syriac. If it were composed in Syriac, it would be difficult to imagine how an Egyptian scribe could possibly misspell the Greek name of an apostle so well known from the Gospel materials as Thomas, unless it is assumed that the scribe for some reason temporarily became absent-minded.

A word may also be said about the expression, "the hidden words," which Fitzmyer was able to recover in the Introduction of P. Oxy. 654 on the basis of the Coptic Thomas. In an attempt to interpret what the phrase, "the hidden words," means, it is only necessary for the reader to be reminded of the fact that the motif of "secret" is not foreign to the teachings of Jesus as recorded in the canonical Gospels. According to such references, there are aspects of the kingdom of heaven which were construed as remaining "hidden" from man's comprehension.[1] Seen from the human point of view, "hiddenness" probably belongs to the nature of God Himself, the final disclosure of which depends on His own revelation. Thus one might say that if the word "hidden" or "secret" implies the "esoteric"character of "Gnostic" doctrines, it also--and even more strongly--points to the very heart of God's essence.

It may be said also that the expression "the living Jesus" does not necessarily indicate that it was spoken of after his resurrection. As referred to previously, Grenfell and Hunt many years ago already pointed this out. The same line of interpretation is now followed by Fitzmyer as well.[1] The phrase "the living" does not require the reader to assume or postulate an extended period of time between the resurrection and the ascension of Jesus. Thus it need not be interpreted necessarily to imply any similarity to or affinity with the post-resurrectional teachings of Jesus, so typical of fully developed Gnostic writings.

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[1] Cf., e.g., Matt. 13:10-11.

Turning from the Introduction to Saying 1 in P. Oxy. 654, it probably ought to be said, in fairness to Grenfell and Hunt, that these scholars had no other way than to take Jesus as the subject of the verb εἶπεν ("[he] said") in line 3. The discovery of the Coptic Thomas, however, has changed the situation. Now that "Judas (who is also called) Thomas" in lines 2-3 is established as the nominative in the sentence ("and Judas . . . Thomas wrote them down"), it is possible to regard the same apostle as the subject of the verb εἶπεν. This reading seems to explain better the use of the conjunction καί before εἶπεν ("and he said"). Ordinarily, in the Oxyrhynchus Fragments as well as in the Coptic Thomas, each individual Saying of Jesus is introduced by the stereotyped formula: "Jesus saith" or "Jesus said," without a conjunction "and" preceding it.

All this observation has led the present writer to believe that the Introduction and Saying 1 in P. Oxy. 654 were from the very beginning inseparably bound together. The original composer of this collection of Jesus' Sayings probably intended, though the name of the apostle had been tinged with strong local traditions, to provide the opening sentences with dignity and sublimity. There seems no reason to suppose that the Introduction and Saying 1 were attached to the body of Sayings-collection by some one other than the original editor at a later time. Rather, it seems more natural to assume that both the Introduction and Saying 1 were part of the document which they were meant to introduce, from the earliest time of its history. The person, responsible for the production of a writing of which P. Oxy. 654 is a fragment, simply and faithfully reproduced what had already stood in the original which fell into his hand, i.e. the "Ur-Thomas."

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[1] Fitzmyer, p. 515.

Next, attention should be directed to Logion 2 of the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_. In the words of the "official" edition, it reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Let him who seeks, not cease seeking until he finds, and when (ϨⲞⲦⲀⲚ) he finds, he will be troubled (ϢⲦⲢ̄ⲦⲢ̄), and when he has been troubled, he will [blank] marvel (ϢⲠⲎⲢⲈ) and he will reign over the All (ⲠⲦⲎⲢϤ).
>
> Logion 2 (80.14-19)

This logion has a parallel in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654, Saying 2. The reconstruction of this Greek Saying, originally proposed by Grenfell and Hunt, shows a remarkable closeness to that of Fitzmyer sixty years later. On the basis of the Greek text restored by Fitzmyer, and using as much as possible the same vocabulary as in the Coptic logion quoted above, the present writer has rendered the Oxyrhynchus Saying 2 into English as follows:

> Jesus says: Let him who see[ks] not cease [seeking until] he finds and when he finds, [he will be troubled, and] having been [trouble]d, he will reign an[d having reigned], he will re[st].
>
> (P. Oxy. 654, lines 5-9)

A few items of importance may be noted at this point. First, in the Coptic text of Logion 2, the conjunction translated "when" (ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ= ὅταν) actually occurs only once. Consequently, the second "when"-clause ("when he has been troubled") in the "official" edition (ⲉϥϣⲁⲛϣⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̄) may better be read "being troubled" (in the present tense rather than in the past), retaining the original nature of the so-called "prospective temporal adverbial clause,"[1] yet indicating the absence of the conjunction itself.

Secondly, the "official" translation capitalizes the last word "all," presumably to emphasize the Gnostic technical nature of the term. This, however, is to be considered as one of the many unfortunate instances in this "official" edition of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas in which the use of capital letters apparently goes to excess. The Coptic word simply means "the all" and should be left uncapitalized.

Thirdly, it is to be noted that the Coptic Logion 2 has no reference to "rest," which appears at the end of the Oxyrhynchus Saying 2. The reader might even get the impression that Thomas substituted the phrase "over the all" for the Oxyrhynchus sentence "and having reigned, he will rest." The probable reason for this change in Thomas, in comparison with the Oxyrhynchus Saying, will be discussed shortly.

Fourthly, as for the Oxyrhynchus Saying itself, it is remarkable that it omits "he will marvel," which occurs in the Coptic Logion 2. As will be seen shortly, there is nothing to indicate that this alteration was made deliberately by some one who for some reason objected to the idea of "marveling."

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[1] J. Martin Plumley, An Introductory Coptic Grammar (Sahidic Dialect) (London: Home and Van Thal, 1948), p. 189; cf. also p. 182.

Finally, it may be pointed out that the Greek word θαμβεῖν in the Oxyrhynchus Saying 2 has been translated "astonish" by Grenfell and Hunt, and "astound" by Fitzmyer. The word, however, has the same meaning as the Coptic ϣτορτρ̄, which is rendered by "trouble" in the "official" edition. Its basic meaning, according to W. E. Crum's lexical notes, is "to disturb," "to cause to hasten," or "to trouble."[1]

It is important to remember that the Coptic Thomas and the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654 are not the only places where this saying is found. Closer attention, therefore, should be directed in the following pages to this particular problem. Clement of Alexandria, in his Stromateis, quoted the same saying, though evidently only in part, from the Gospel of the Hebrews. The Clement passage in point, which the present writer designates as "Clement-A" for the sake of convenience, reads as follows:

> As also it stands written in the Gospel of the Hebrews: He that marvels (θαυμάζειν) shall reign, and he that has reigned shall rest (ἀναπαύειν).[2]

Later on in the same work, Clement again quoted the same saying, this time presumably in full but without specifying his source. This longer passage, which hereafter will be referred to as "Clement-B," runs as follows:

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[1] Crum, op. cit., p. 597.

[2] Clement of Alexandria Stromateis ii. 9. 45. This translation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 164.

> He that seeks will not rest (παύειν [better: cease]) until he finds; and he that has found shall marvel (θαμβεῖν [better: be troubled]); and he that has marvelled [better: has been troubled] shall reign; and he that has reigned shall rest (ἐπαναπαύειν).[1]

A comparison of these four versions of the presumably same saying shows an interesting variety of "stages" or "steps" through which man is supposed to travel until he reaches the ultimate goal. The table, which will be given below, is designed to show a summary of these various processes as they appear in each of the above-quoted four passages. For the reason which will be given shortly, the stages, presumably contained in the hypothetical "Ur-Thomas" and the Gospel of the Hebrews, are also added to this table.

	Thomas Log. 2	P.Oxy.654 Saying 2	Clement A	Clement B	("Ur-Thomas") (Gosp. Hebr.)
1.	Seek	seek	----	seek	(seek)
2.	Find	find	----	find	(find)
3.	Troubled	troubled	--------	troubled	(troubled)
4.	Marvel	------	marvel	------	(marvel)
5.	Reign	reign	reign	reign	(reign)
6.	----	rest	rest	rest	(rest)

It is worth noting in this table that the first three steps, "seek--find--troubled," are found invariably in all versions (counting the hypothetical "Ur-Thomas" and the Gospel of the Hebrews in the last column) except "Clement-A." At the same time, it is also to be noted that P. Oxy. 654, "Clement-A," and

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[1] Clement of Alexandria Stromateis v. 14. 96. This translation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 164.

"Clement-B" all agree in having the last two steps: "reign--rest." Thomas alone, significantly, lacks "rest" over against all the others. Moreover, Thomas agrees only with "Clement-A" in having "marvel." These three steps, i.e. "marvel--reign--rest," are found together only in "Clement-A," which, according to Clement himself, is a quotation from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

The question to be raised now is: What relationship can there be between these various documents, including the Gospel of the Hebrews? In answer to this question, the present writer wishes to offer the following theory as a working hypothesis. Originally, the saying that has been variously preserved in different places as shown above probably contained six, instead of five, steps in the order observable in the table: "seek--find--troubled--marvel--reign--rest." That was the form and content of the saying as it once stood in the presumed "Ur-Thomas." Assuming, as the present writer believes to be the case, and as developed earlier in Chapter VI, that the author of the Gospel of the Hebrews drew part of his materials from the "Ur-Thomas," it may be conjectured that the author of that apocryphal Jewish-Christian Gospel came across the saying in the "Ur-Thomas," and reproduced it accurately. This conclusion is reached by synchronizing Clement's presumed two partial quotations from the Gospel of the Hebrews.

How can the difference between "Clement-A" and "Clement-B" be accounted for? According to the context in which the former passage ("Clement-A") stands, Clement's special purpose was to show that the beginning of philosophy was "wonder."[1] Given the saying in the Gospel of the Hebrews (and ultimately the "Ur-Thomas"), however, Clement wished to use only the second half of the saying, which he evidently considered to be sufficient for his particular object. Probably in this way, the first quotation in Clement's Stromateis (i.e. "Clement-A") came into being.

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[1] Cf. Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 5; Fitzmyer, p. 518.

A little later Clement again quoted the same saying, but this time for different purposes. He therefore quoted it in full--at least he thought he was copying the saying correctly. That he did not write down everything contained in that saying, however, is apparent from the comparative table shown previously.

Furthermore, one may ask: Why was the step "marvel" omitted from this longer passage ("Clement-B")? No precise answer to this question seems possible in the present state of knowledge. One thing, however, seems certain, that Clement had no particular reason why he should have resented the word "marvel" or its meaning. Be that as it may, the second, longer passage in the Stromateis, i.e. "Clement-B," as it now stands, consists of five steps instead of the presumed six. It is almost certain, even though Clement himself did not state explicitly, that he made this quotation from the same Gospel of the Hebrews.

It is significant to note that the sequence of steps as shown in "Clement-B" is also followed by the Oxyrhynchus Saying 2. Assuming that "Clement-B" was a quotation from the Gospel of the Hebrews, as just pointed out, the question now is: Was the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654 also dependent on the Gospel of the Hebrews? The answer to this question probably should be in the negative. The literary character of P. Oxy. 654 as a fragment of a Sayings-collection precludes that possibility, since the *Gospel of the Hebrews*, so far as can be judged from a few extant fragments, apparently was a gospel of narrative type.[1] Thus it seems more likely to conclude that anything common to the *Gospel of the Hebrews* and P. Oxy. 654 is due to their sharing of a common source, than to think of one as being directly dependent on the other. The common source in this case, needless to say, is what has been called the "Ur-Thomas" in this dissertation.

Yet one must still ask: Why is it that the Oxyrhynchus Saying and "Clement-B" exhibit the common, strange phenomenon of lacking one particular step, "marvel"? In answer to this question, it can only be surmised that probably it was a curious coincidence, possibly due to the carelessness on the part of the copyist in Egypt, who was responsible for the writing of P. Oxy. 654. A similar mistake could well have been made by Clement himself.

Indeed, it is not difficult to imagine also that the copyist, as he was working on the "Ur-Thomas," innocently overlooked three Greek words that were part of the original saying, i.e. θαυμάσει καὶ θαυμάσας ("he will marvel, and having marveled"). These words, when restored in the Oxyrhynchus Saying as it now stands after Fitzmyer's reconstruction, bring the saying to completion without violating its literary style and rhythm. The present writer, therefore, hereby suggests what he thinks to be the original wording of this saying. With the presumed additional words underlined, it runs as follows:

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[1] Cf. the seven, only known fragments of the *Gospel of the Hebrews* collected in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 163-65.

> Let him who seeks not cease seeking until he finds,
> and when he finds, he will be troubled,
> and having been troubled, he will marvel,
> and having marveled, he will reign,
> and having reigned, he will rest.

The theory of scribal errors, so far as this particular case is concerned, appears to be capable of contributing toward the explanation of how the Oxyrhynchus Saying and "Clement-B" came to display exactly the identical sequence of steps, with "marvel" missing from both. Mistakes of this sort in the process of transcription and transmission of a literary work in those days were not uncommon. There is therefore nothing surprising if a line or a few words in the original document should have been accidentally omitted by the scribe at a later time.

The fact that "marvel" is missing in the Oxyrhynchus Saying (as well as in "Clement-B"), however, needs to be considered along with another fact that the very same missing item does occur in *Thomas*' Logion 2 and "Clement-A." Its appearance in these latter two seems to give strong support to the hypothesis that the original Saying, as it stood in the "Ur-Thomas," probably contained "marvel" side by side with the other five steps.

This assumption seems to be given further support by still another fact that P. Oxy. 654 was probably not the only copy of the original document. This is evident from what has been known of the Oxyrhynchus Fragments, namely the fact that P. Oxy. 654 is written on the *verso* of a land survey-list, while P. Oxy. 1 is a leaf of a codex and P. Oxy. 655 consists of eight small pieces from a scroll. Thus one may safely assume that there might well have been at least one copy produced and circulated in Egypt, in which the original

Saying consisting of six steps was reproduced accurately. It was this kind of a perfect copy of the original document that later on fell into the hand of a translator, who subsequently rendered the entire volume into Coptic. As a result, what was missing in P. Oxy. 654, i.e. "marvel," finally found its way into the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

Unfortunately, however, the Coptic scribe, like the Oxyrhynchus copyist (and possibly Clement, too), was not completely immune from errors and mistakes. Evidently, he missed his footing at the latter part of the saying in point. He not only destroyed the literary style and rhythm after "and when he has been troubled," but, more seriously, omitted the last step, "rest," completely. That was a grave mistake, which could not be forgiven even by adding a rather meaningless phrase, "over the all," at the end of the saying. But how, one may still ask, could he possibly make such a mistake?

In an attempt to answer this question, it may be noted that there is a blank in the original Coptic manuscript of the Gospel of Thomas, right in the middle of the sentence: "he will (blank) marvel."[1] This causes the investigator to suspect that the Coptic scribe may have been confused for some reason (mutilation? faded ink?) at about that point of the saying. Out of such confusion, he either overlooked, or was unable to read or translate, the sentence which is supposed to follow: "and having marveled." Furthermore, he omitted "and having reigned" entirely, and brought the saying to an end by adding a wholly new phrase: "over the all."

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[1] This blank occupies almost the first half of line 18 on Plate 80 in Labib's photographic edition.

Now the last word of the Oxyrhynchus Saying 2, according to Fitzmyer's restoration, which essentially agrees with that of Grenfell and Hunt, is ἀναπαήσεται ("he will rest"), which is a vulgar form of ἀναπαύσεται. Because of some resemblances, it is not entirely impossible that the Coptic scribe misread that word as ἀνὰ πάντα ("over all") and rendered it by the Coptic ⲈϪⲘ̄ ⲠⲦⲎⲢϤ ("over the all"), thereby eliminating the "rest" completely. It is indeed unfortunate that the Coptic translator stumbled to that great extent. Yet, on the other hand, one finds here a piece of valuable evidence that the Coptic *Thomas*, both in point of time and content, came after the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas," of which P. Oxy. 654 is one representative. Garitte's theory that the Greek *Thomas* is a translation from the Coptic,[1] is indeed difficult to maintain.

It is by now sufficiently clear that the omission of "rest" in *Thomas*' Logion 2 is accidental, not intentional. There are, however, those scholars who see here nothing but a "Gnostic" distortion. Grant and Freedman, for example, think that the author of the Coptic *Thomas* purposely "changed the saying in order to lay emphasis on the idea of becoming a king."[2] To the present writer, this interpretation is not convincing.

Even more debatable is the position taken by Gärtner. The "seeking" in *Thomas*, according to him, is essentially "man's own search for knowledge of the heavenly element imprisoned in him," and as such it "comprises one of the many important terms in this gospel's doctrinal system."[1] Assuming that the point of departure for the Coptic Logion 2 is the dominical saying in Matthew 7:7, Gärtner concluded that this logion, and the corresponding saying in P. Oxy. 654 and Clement's Stromateis, are all indicative of "the way in which the existence of alterations and developments is due to the needs of interpretation, and does not imply the existence of independent tradition."[2] With this conclusion in mind, he commented on Logion 2 and paraphrased it as follows:

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[1] G. Garitte's article in *Muséon*, LXXIII (1960), pp. 151ff.; 325ff.

[2] Grant-Freedman, p. 120.

> Man's task is to seek knowledge, gnosis, and when he has found it he becomes dismayed, for the insight into the light-world frightens him--a reaction which in Gnostic texts almost always accompanies man's first contact with heavenly power and light. But fear gives way to amazement at the riches within man. If he has discovered the right relationship between matter and the light-world, he has also attained salvation--expressed in the words, "become king over the All" (or in the Greek tradition, "rest").[3]

"Rest," like "seeking," according to Gärtner, is a special technical term in Gnostic literature, denoting "salvation."[4] He identified this ultimate state of salvation with "rest" and with "become king over the All," as just quoted.

Such interpretations, however, can hardly be regarded as convincing. They fail to explain why P. Oxy. 654 in Saying 2 has "reign" and "rest" separately--a fact which indicates that these two terms had different meanings. As discussed previously, the omission of "rest" in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas is due probably to unintentional error on the part of the Coptic editor, and not because he regarded "reign" and "rest" as identical and therefore omitted the latter. Despite the surprisingly great quantity of Gnostic elements which Gärtner reads into the text of Logion 2, the present writer must repudiate such a Gnosticist interpretation as maintained by Gärtner. Such eisegesis is not capable of contributing toward the clarification of the problem of relationship between the Coptic Thomas and the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments.

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[1] Gärtner, p. 258.

[2] Ibid., p. 263.

[3] Ibid., p. 262.

[4] Ibid., p. 265.

Next comes Logion 3. In the "official" translation it reads as follows:

> Jesus said: If those who lead you say to you: "See, the Kingdom is in heaven," then the birds of the heaven will precede you. If they say to you: "It is in the sea," then the fish will precede you. But the Kingdom is within you and it is without you. If you (will) know yourselves, then you will be known and you will know that you are the sons of the Living Father. But if you do not know yourselves, then you are in poverty and you are poverty.
>
> Logion 3 (80.19-81. 5)

This logion is substantially paralleled in P. Oxy. 654, Saying 3. Unfortunately, however, this Oxyrhynchus Saying has suffered severe damage in the second half of each line. Moreover, there seems to be no direct parallel to this Saying in the canonical writings, with the possible exception of Luke 17:21: "the kingdom of God is in the midst (or, within) you" (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν). For these reasons, the original editors of this Greek Saying, Grenfell and Hunt, admitted that its reconstruction was "extremely difficult."[1] The latest of many scholars who have attempted to supply the missing words in the lacunae is Fitzmyer.

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 6.

Unlike all the previous critics, Fitzmyer was able to be guided in his task of reconstruction by the logion in the Coptic Thomas just quoted. As a result, he suggested a new restoration of the Oxyrhynchus Saying in Greek, which, translated into English, runs as follows:

> Je[sus] says, [If] those who draw you on [say to you, "Behold!] the kingdom (is) in the heav[en,"] the birds of the hea[ven will be (there) before you. But if they say th]at it is under the earth, the fishes of the se[a will enter before you]. And the king[dom of God] is within you [and outside (of you). Whoever] knows [himself], will fin[d] it [and when you] know yourselves, [you will realize that] you are [sons] of the li[ving] Father. [But if you will not] know yourselves, [you are] in [poverty] and you are pov[erty].[1]
>
> (P. Oxy. 654, lines 9-21)

Again, there are significant differences as well as similarities between this Saying and the Coptic Logion 3 corresponding to it. Grant and Freedman, probably on the basis of the Greek text as restored by Grenfell and Hunt and others before Fitzmyer, noted that "the Greek version of Thomas says that the kingdom is within," whereas "the Coptic adds that it is also outside." They then gave their reason for this difference by stating that it was "perhaps because the Naassenes spoke of the kingdom as 'hidden and manifest at the same time'."[2] Thus this logion is taken by these scholars as yet another piece of evidence for their theory that Thomas was a "Naassene" document.

This conclusion, however, is without support, since, as shown by Fitzmyer, it is now possible to supply "and it is without you" (κἀκτός = καί + ἐκτός) in the lacuna following "the kingdom of God is within you" (P. Oxy. 654, lines 15-16). In other words, the once assumed discrepancy between the two versions of the saying on the matter of the kingdom being "within" and "without" does not exist any longer.

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[1] Fitzmyer, pp. 519-20.

[2] Grant-Freedman, p. 121.

It is also interesting to note that the Oxyrhynchus Saying has "under the earth" in the place of Thomas' "in the sea." Obviously, these two expressions here are regarded as synonymous, and rightly so. The identification, moreover, seems to point to the Hebrew-Christian tradition with which the Oxyrhynchus Saying evidently associated itself. The idea of the earth, i.e. the inhabited land, being founded upon "the seas" and "the floods," is expressed by the Hebrew psalmists (Psalm 24:2; 136:6). The same concept appears in the second of the "Ten Commandments," where the people of Israel were prohibited by Yahweh to make a graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is "in the water under the earth" (Exodus 20:4; Deuteronomy 5:8).

Such interchangeability between these two phrases, "under the earth" and "in the sea," apparently was taken for granted by the editor of the Oxyrhynchus collection. This is evident from the portion of Saying 3, which reads: "But if they say that it [i.e. the kingdom] is under the earth, the fishes of the sea will enter before you."

The content of the Coptic Logion 3 is virtually the same as the Oxyrhynchus Saying 3, but the wording in the former seems more streamlined than the latter, as it reads: "If they say to you, 'It is in the sea,' then the fish will precede you." The Coptic editor probably did not consider it as necessary to use two separate expressions for the same thing, namely, the sea.

Another item to be noted is the fact that the sentence in the Oxyrhynchus Saying 3: "whoever knows himself will find it (i.e. the kingdom)," is not found in the Coptic Logion 3. This sentence appears to be an effective bridge that connects the first half of the Saying (about the nature of the kingdom) with the second half (about the importance of knowing oneself). Grenfell and Hunt's comment on this linking clause is, in essence, still worth noting. They stated as follows:

> The transition from the inward character of the kingdom to the necessity for self-knowledge is natural. Since the kingdom is not an external manifestation but an inward principle, men must know themselves in order to attain to its realization. The Old Greek proverb γνῶθι σεαυτόν ["Know Thyself"] is thus given a fresh significance.[1]

It should be remembered of course that Grenfell and Hunt were not able to find the proper words to fill in the lacuna after "the kingdom of God is within you." Hence their emphasis on the "inward" nature of the kingdom, as exhibited in the statement just quoted. Yet, their assertion that the transition from the first half to the second half of the Saying is a "natural" one still remains essentially sound.

For some critics, however, this bridge or transition evidently means something entirely different. Gärtner, for example, interpreted the reference to self-knowledge as indicating "the existence of heavenly particles of light in man." He further states as follows:

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 7.

> In the Gnostic context, to learn to know oneself meant to discover one's real identity, one's place of origin, and the nature of one's heavenly element. . . . If this self-knowledge be not attained, then salvation is out of the question; and the only existent reality for such a one is the material world: "you are poverty."[1]

Even when Gärtner--rightly--speaks of the kingdom as something that cannot be localized, he means by it to refer to "the Father's scattered possessions, his particles of light." Thus, for Gärtner, the idea of self-knowledge is a logical consequence (in a Gnostic way) of a discussion on the nature of the kingdom. The kingdom, he wrote, cannot be seen by men, but can only be experienced "introspectively," i.e. "by learning to know oneself."[2]

Gärtner, Grenfell and Hunt are all agreed that there is a close connection between the first half and the second half of the saying in question. Yet, to the present writer, the difference in thought and method of approach seems unmistakable.

Gärtner's Gnosticist interpretation is evident also in his discussion of what he calls the "double expression" with regard to the nature of the kingdom, namely, the kingdom "within" and "without." He finds a parallel to this dual concept in the Manichaean Psalm-book, a passage of which reads: "The kingdom of the heavens, --behold, it is within us, behold, it is outside us; if we believe in it we shall live in it for ever."[3] In this highly syncretistic document, the dual existence of the kingdom is a repeated subject. Gärtner thus suggests that the Coptic Logion 3 be read against the Gnostic-Manichaean background, of which the Manichaean Psalm-book is representative.

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[1] Gärtner, p. 215.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 216.

[3] Manichaean *Psalm-book*, 160. 20f. This translation is taken from Gärtner, p. 214.

What is more serious in his treatment of this particular subject, however, is the fact that he really does not seem to pay much attention to the other aspect of duality, namely, the kingdom "without." As already pointed out, Gärtner as a Gnosticist naturally has much to say about "the kingdom within," for the Gnostics, as he emphasizes, believed that "the only place in the created world where this kingdom is to be found is in man."[1] "In any case," stated Gärtner, "the Gnostics must be warned against believing in a kingdom of God which is visible on earth. It is within man, is to be sought there."[2]

In like manner, Grant and Freedman also saw in this Logion 3 a definitely Gnostic element. They wrote that "the kingdom within is the equivalent of self-knowledge."[3] It should be noted that here they, like Gärtner, are concerned only with the kingdom "within." The idea of knowing oneself, according to Grant and Freedman, is essentially "an old Greek notion, expressed, for example, by the Delphic oracle."[4] It is, therefore, "not characteristically Christian";[5] it is not to be compared with the Pauline concept of "knowing" and "being known" (Galatians 4:9; I Corinthians 13:12).

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[1] Gärtner, p. 214.

[2] Ibid., p. 216.

[3] Grant-Freedman, p. 121.

[4] Ibid., p. 122.

[5] Ibid.

"Once more," so they concluded, "the Christian emphasis is on the action of God in Christ; the Gnostic emphasis is on man's knowledge, even though this knowledge comes from revelation."[1]

The above-quoted statements, which seem to the present writer quite inadequate, have been cited to illustrate that, so far as known to the present writer, no satisfactory explanation has been given to the concept of the kingdom being both "within" and "without." Fitzmyer frankly stated that "the exact meaning of the kingdom being 'within you and without' is puzzling."[2]

The expression, "the kingdom without," in the judgment of the present writer, deserves serious consideration. In his opinion, the expression upholds, rather than degrades, what might be called the main line of Christian thinking about the nature of the kingdom of God and man's relation to it.

The point of departure for the present consideration is the words of Jesus recorded in the canonical Gospel of Luke: "The kingdom of God is not coming with signs to be observed; nor will they say, 'Lo, here it is!' or 'There!' for behold, the kingdom of God is in the midst of you [or, within you]" (Luke 17:20-21). It is not difficult to understand why this concept of the kingdom being "within man" soon became widely accepted among the Gnostics of the second and the third century, as attested by Hippolytus in his summary of the Naassene doctrines, as referred to in previous connections.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Fitzmyer, p. 521.

[3] Hippolytus Refutatio v. 7. 20: "the kingdom of the heaven is within man, and is sought after" (quoted in Puech's article in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 280).

Under such circumstances, some of the early Christian leaders, who found themselves more in the main stream than others, naturally reacted strongly against this tendency to magnify one-sidedly the "inward" nature of the kingdom. This counter-movement among the orthodox leaders, so to speak, may be inferred from the fact that Hippolytus made mention of the concept of the "kingdom within" specifically in relation to the "Naassenes," a branch of the Ophites in Egypt.

Sometime during the early part of the second century, there arose in some quarters, presumably out of prudence, a tradition in which the above-quoted Lukan saying was expanded by an additional phrase: "and without." The second element in the double expression concerning the kingdom was thus brought into existence as a measure of precaution and prevention against any excessive emphasis on the inward character of the kingdom at the sacrifice of the outer. It was brought up to the surface and formulated in a brief but poignant phrase, so that there would be no more misunderstanding with respect to the true nature of the kingdom and man's relation to it--the kind of misunderstanding already evident among the Gnostics in general, and the "Naassenes" in particular, as pointed out by Hippolytus about A.D. 230.

The present writer further assumes that this newly expanded saying quickly became part of the early Christian tradition, notably among the Jewish-Christians in the neighborhood of Edessa in Syria during the early part of the second century. The compiler of the proposed "Ur-Thomas," working on his task in that particular region, took it into his literary work. Soon it reached the hand of the editor of the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas," partly represented by P. Oxy. 654. Later on, the Coptic translator faithfully rendered it into Coptic and produced a word-for-word translation of it in what is now known as the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

In the meantime, the enlarged saying became known to other Gnostics as well, and eventually also to the Manichaeans. Not knowing just what the prehistory of this longer version of the saying was, those people took it over without question and included it in their own writings. Thus, it is not particularly surprising to find that the Manichaean Psalm-book, to which Gärtner appealed for the support of his Gnosticist thesis, contains the same concept of the kingdom being both "within" and "without," and other similar arguments based on it.

Dealing, therefore, with a saying such as the Oxyrhynchus Saying 3 or the Coptic Logion 3, one should be warned against losing sight of the probable situation behind it, out of which almost of necessity the "double expression" concerning the nature of the kingdom arose. Also one should be reasonably clear as to the original intention of adding such a phrase as "and it is without," as it occurs in Thomas' Logion 3 and also in the Third Saying of P. Oxy. 654. The purpose of that additional phrase, as the present writer has just traced hypothetically, was to fight against, not to promote, the prevailing or at least growing misconception about the kingdom being solely something which is "within" man.

The full meaning of the kingdom cannot be grasped by man, no matter how firmly he may be convinced that it is "within" himself. Always there remain elements that go beyond human comprehension--elements that are best described as being "outside" or "without" man. Man ought to know this limitation which fundamentally belongs to him. He learns about such limitation by first knowing who he is and who he is not, what he can do and what he cannot do. Thus, to know oneself means, essentially, to know his own limitation, his inability, and his bounds of existence beyond which he cannot go.

When, on the other hand, he trespasses his boundary and begins to feel as if he knew everything, he will lose what he has. The moment he begins to think of himself as being "rich," he actually is "in poverty." Not only is he "in poverty," but he himself is "poverty," as Logion 3 asserts at the end.

Logion 3 of the Coptic Thomas (and also the corresponding Saying 3 in P. Oxy. 654) thus shows a remarkable consistency, in keeping with the main-line Christian teachings on the nature of the kingdom and man's place in relation to it. Two things, then, must be clear: (1) Logion 3 need not be taken as an expression of Gnostic doctrines connected with the nature of the kingdom, of man, or of true knowledge (gnosis); and (2) the logion is in itself a complete whole, and as such it does not require to be divided into two separate sayings, as Doresse has done.[1]

So far as the relationship between the Oxyrhynchus Saying and the Coptic logion that have been brought under examination in the foregoing pages is concerned, it should be perfectly clear that the latter is an almost exact reproduction of the former. It is in fact impossible to reverse this order and assume that the Greek version is secondary to the Coptic, as some scholars (notably Garitte, as referred to earlier) have tried to establish.

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[1] Doresse, p. 355.

Logion 4, which is next in line, has been translated by the editors of the "official" edition as follows:

> Jesus said: The man old in days will not hesitate to ask a little child of seven days about the place of Life, and he will live. For many who are first shall become last and they shall become a single one.
>
> Logion 4 (81.5-10)

This logion, which is paralleled in P. Oxy. 654, Saying 4, presents itself as a curious combination of old and new elements. The original editors of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, Grenfell and Hunt, decided to "forbear to restore the earlier part of the Saying" because of the lack of any clear parallel anywhere outside this manuscript.[1] This difficulty, due to the new element contained in the Saying, continued to exist until recently, when new light began to be cast by the discovery of the Coptic Thomas. On the basis of the corresponding logion in this new document, Fitzmyer has offered his restoration of the Oxyrhynchus Saying, which in his translation reads as follows:

> [Jesus says,] A ma[n full of d]ays will not hesitate to ask a ch[ild of seven da]ys about the place of [life and he will live]. He will [know] that many (that are) fi[rst] will be [last and] the last will be first and they [will have eternal life].[2]
>
> (P. Oxy. 654, lines 21-27)

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 8.

[2] Fitzmyer, p. 523.

It is true, as has often been pointed out, that the first half of this Saying has no exact parallel in any of the known Gospels, canonical or apocryphal. A similar saying, however, has been preserved in the Manichaean Psalm-book: "The grey-haired old men, the little children instruct them. They that are six years old instruct them that are sixty years old."[1]

A saying which shows some vague resemblances to the Oxyrhynchus Saying has also been preserved in Hippolytus' Refutatio. As previously quoted and discussed in Chapter IV, this saying is mentioned by Hippolytus in connection with the "Naassenes" and also with a "Gospel of Thomas." It may again be quoted:

> Of this nature (or: this kingdom) they (the Naassenes) speak expressly in the gospel entitled "according to Thomas," saying: "He who seeks me will find me in children of seven years upward, for there hidden in the fourteenth aeon am I revealed."[2]

It is significant to note that this is the only passage anywhere in early Christian literature, which explicitly mentions the name of a "Gospel of Thomas" together with that of the "Naassenes." Hippolytus' words just quoted would even give the impression that the Naassenes were the producers of that Gospel, rather than just the users of it.

It has already been shown, in Chapter IV, that the "Gospel of Thomas" referred to by Hippolytus cannot be identified with the so-called Infancy Gospel of Thomas. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the saying quoted by Hippolytus ("He who seeks me will find me in children of seven years upward, etc.") does not occur in that "Infancy" Gospel.

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[1] Manichaean Psalm-book, 192. 2-3. This translation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 284; cf. also Fitzmyer, p. 523; Gärtner, p. 225.

[2] Hippolytus Refutatio v. 7. 20. This translation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 280. For previous discussions on this passage, particularly in connection with the Infancy Gospel of Thomas, see Chap. IV, supra.

Does this mean, then, that Hippolytus' "Gospel of Thomas" is perhaps to be identified with the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas? No easy answer seems possible for the same reason, i.e. the saying quoted by Hippolytus is not found in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas in exactly the same form. The fact of the matter is that there are more differences than similarities between the two. Puech, accordingly, stated that "the similarities are so slight and the differences so great that one is almost tempted to deny any connection between the two gospels [i.e. Hippolytus' "Gospel of Thomas" and the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas]."[1]

Puech, however, did not deny the possibility of a connection between them. In fact, he suggested that "the Naassenes [may have] employed a version which at some points had undergone revision."[2] There is of course still another possibility, as Puech also pointed out, that "the saying preserved in the Refutation does not literally reproduce a passage from this particular version [as just suggested] but was very freely quoted and modified by the writer who served as source for Hippolytus."[1]

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[1] Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 284.

[2] Ibid. It may be pointed out, however, that Puech seems to be inclined to support the theory of a possible connection between the Naassenes and the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas. This is inferred from the fact that he has made reference to a portion of Log. 11: "In the days when you devoured the dead, you made it alive; when you come into light, what will you do?" (82.19-22), and then called attention to the fact that Hippolytus, Refutatio v. 8. 32, quoted the Naassenes as saying: "If you ate dead things and made them living, what will you do if you eat living things?" (Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 284; cf. also Grant-Freedman, pp. 84-85). Because of the existence of obvious parallels between these passages, Puech concluded that there is "every reason to believe that here again they [the Naassenes] were influenced by the Gospel of Thomas, and moreover by a version of this gospel identical with the one now rediscovered" (Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 284).

All this means that the question of what document Hippolytus was actually referring to, when he mentioned a "Gospel of Thomas," still remains open. Consequently, it is questionable if one can be so definite as Grant and Freedman were in asserting that "the Naassenes . . . made use of the Gospel of Thomas [i.e. the present *Gospel of Thomas* from Nag Hammadi]."[2] The Naassenes may have used a "Gospel of Thomas," but the real question of the identity of that Gospel is not hereby solved.

Returning to the Coptic Logion 4 itself, it should be noted, at the outset, that, whatever its source may have been, the saying definitely is now available in two versions--one in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654 and the other in the Coptic *Thomas*--both agreeing with one another almost *verbatim*. The general meaning of the logion seems clear: an old man can and should be instructed by a small child with regard to "the place of life" (ⲠⲦⲞⲠⲞⲤ [= τόπος] ⲘⲠⲰⲚϨ). What the phrase "the place of life" means may be seen in Logion 24, in which the disciples asked Jesus: "Show us the *place* where Thou art, for it is necessary for us to seek it" (86. 4-6). Such a theme of an old man being instructed by a little child, Fitzmyer observed, "was apparently a favorite with the Gnostics."[3]

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[1] Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 284; cf. also the preceding note.

[2] Grant-Freedman, p. 84.

[3] Fitzmyer, p. 523.

This last statement, however, is misleading, for evidently the Gnostics were not the only ones who cherished that idea. The basic motif is already present in the canonical saying of Jesus: "I thank thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and understanding and revealed them to babes; yea, Father, for such was thy gracious will" (Matthew 11:25=Luke 10:21; Q). To this may be added also another passage from the Synoptics: "Let the children come to me, do not hinder them; for to such belongs the kingdom of God. Truly, I say to you, whoever does not receive the kingdom of God like a child shall not enter it" (Mark 10:14-15=Luke 18:16-17; cf. Matthew 19:14; 18:3).

It has been maintained that Logion 4 is "probably the Gnostic explanation of the words of Jesus in Mark 10:14-15."[1] It is of course not impossible that the logion in question may have been some sort of an explanatory saying. However, it is unwarranted to go so far as to say that the saying cannot be anything but a "Gnostic" explanation.

The concluding part of Logion 4 reads: "they shall become a single one" (ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ). The meaning of this phrase, "single one," has already been expounded in the preceding Chapter VI. The corresponding part of the Oxyrhynchus Saying, in the original damaged manuscript, reads: ΚΑΙ [. . .]/ΣΙΝ (P. Oxy. 654, lines 26-27). This portion has been variously restored in the past. Grenfell and Hunt, for example, without the assistance of this Coptic version of the Saying, restored it so as to read: "they shall have eternal life" ([ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἕξου]σιν) on the basis of John 3:16, 36; 5:24; etc.[1] Fitzmyer, having the Coptic logion before him, seems to agree with these scholars. Nevertheless, he at the same time frankly admits he is "at a loss to restore the end of this saying properly according to the version in the Coptic."[2]

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 123.

Rodolphe Kasser, on the other hand, thinks that the reading, suggested by Grenfell and Hunt and reservedly accepted by Fitzmyer, is "tres douteux."[3] Accordingly, he suggests the following restoration: [μόνοι (or, μοναχοί) μενοῦ]σιν.[4] Restored in this manner, the total number of letters in line 26 counts twenty-eight or thirty, depending on which of the two words, μόνοι or μοναχοί, is adopted. Since the length of the original lines in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654 is estimated about thirty letters, Kasser's emendation seems to have a definite advantage over that of Grenfell and Hunt (followed by Fitzmyer), which contains thirty-three letters in all, and may therefore be dismissed.

Even so, Kasser's proposal cannot go without being challenged. There is a good reason to believe that his alternative reading, μοναχοί, should be rejected. The reason is because in the Coptic Thomas the Greek word μοναχός usually appears untranslated (though transliterated as ⲘⲞⲚⲀⲬⲞⲤ).[5] If μοναχοί were the original reading in the Greek Saying, as Kasser suggests, then one should naturally expect to find in the Coptic logion the same Greek loan word ⲘⲞⲚⲀⲬⲞⲤ. Actually, however, this is not the case; the Coptic has ⲞⲨⲀ ⲞⲨⲰⲦ in its stead. For this reason, the present writer prefers μόνοι to μοναχοί for the closing part of the Oxyrhynchus Saying 4, even though this means to decrease the total number of letters in that line by two (i.e. twenty-eight in all).

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 8.

[2] Fitzmyer, p. 524.

[3] Kasser, p. 34.

[4] Ibid.

[5] The term ⲘⲞⲚⲀⲬⲞⲤ occurs in Log. 16, 49, and 75, and in every case is translated "officially" as "solitary." Reference has been made to these three logia in Chap. VI, supra. For detailed discussions on them, see Chap. VIII, infra.

The expression, "to become a single one," is used here to indicate an aspect of the Jewish or Jewish-Christian concept with regard to man's salvation as a return to the original state of his total oneness, which, as already discussed in the preceding Chapter VI, was symbolized by the idea of the first man, Adam, being "androgynous" (not "asexual"). This thought-pattern, which is apparent in the present Oxyrhynchus Saying, is now faithfully reproduced in Logion 4 of the Coptic Thomas without change in meaning or expression.

These considerations make it clear that both the Oxyrhynchus Saying 4 and the Coptic Logion 4 can and should find their place within the bounds of early Jewish-Christian tradition, probably of Syrian type, out of which the "Ur-Thomas" is believed to have emerged.

The next Logion 5 has been dealt with in the preceding Chapter VI in connection with the meaning of the word "hidden." For the purpose of the present study in this chapter, however, special attention should be directed to one particular item connected with this logion.

This problem has to do with the manner in which the logion is closed, in comparison with the ending of the Oxyrhynchus Saying. Before making an attempt to clarify the issue, however, the Coptic Logion 5 may once again be quoted in full. It reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Know what is in thy sight, and what is hidden from thee will be revealed to thee. For there is nothing hidden which will not be manifest.
>
> Logion 5 (81.10-14)

Obviously, the second half of this logion is paralleled by the familiar dominical saying preserved in the canonical traditions: "for there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed, and hid, that shall not be known" (Matthew 10:26=Luke 12:2; cf. Mark 4:22=Luke 8:17).

It is further to be noted that the logion is also encountered in the Manichaean Kephalaia: "Know that which is before your face and what is hidden from you will be revealed to you."[1]

These three passages, found in various documents that are so far apart from one another, to be sure, are not exactly identical. The Manichaean saying represents word for word the first half of the Coptic logion, while the Synoptic saying finds its somewhat free version in the second half of the same Coptic logion. Yet, they all have one characteristic in common, as will be shown shortly.

By contrast, the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5, which generally corresponds to Logion 5, shows a striking feature at the end. According to Fitzmyer's reconstruction, which substantially agrees with that of Grenfell and Hunt except on the first line (line 27), the Greek Saying runs as follows:

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[1] Manichaean Kephalaia, 65; cf. Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Vol. I (Stuttgart, 1940), p. 163. This translation is taken from Fitzmyer, p. 526; cf. also Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 300; Wilson, p. 29.

> Jesus says, K[now what is be]fore your face, and [that which is hidden] from you will be reveal[ed to you. For there i]s nothing hidden which will not [be made] mani[fest] and (nothing) buried which will not [be raised up].
>
> (P. Oxy. 654, lines 27-31)

A glance at this Saying immediately makes it clear that it is virtually the same as the corresponding Coptic logion. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that there is a significant difference between the two: what appears to be a reference to resurrection at the end of this Saying does not occur in the Coptic logion and its parallels mentioned above.

Grenfell and Hunt, followed by practically all subsequent critics, restored the final sentence of the Greek Saying so as to read: "and (nothing) buried which will not be raised" (line 31: καὶ θεθαμμένον ὃ ο[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται]). According to the words of the original editors themselves, they were able to fill in the lacuna on the line in point merely on the basis of their assumption that the Saying was "a striking variation of a well-known Saying [i.e. Matthew 10:26, and parallels]."[1]

Today, however, there is a better reason for that restoration. In 1953, H.-C. Puech, of Paris, acquired a Christian burial shroud, which had been found at Oxyrhynchus. Palaeographically, it has been dated to the fifth or sixth century A.D. On this shroud is inscribed the following sentence allegedly spoken by Jesus:[1]

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 9.

> λέγει Ἰησοῦς· οὐκ ἔστιν τεθαμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται.
>
> Jesus says, There is nothing buried which will not be raised up.

This is a verbatim reproduction of the final sentence in the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5, which is conspicuous by its total absence from the Coptic Logion 5. The burial shroud inscription thus provides a concrete proof that Grenfell and Hunt were right in reconstructing the last part of the Oxyrhynchus Saying, even though they had no documentary support at that time.

From what has been said, it is clear that there are two sets of versions of presumably the same saying: one with the passage referring to resurrection, the other without it. The former (longer) version is preserved in the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5, with the additional resurrection passage, attested by the shroud inscription (also from Oxyrhynchus), while the latter (shorter) form is found in the Synoptics, the Coptic Thomas (Logion 5), and the Manichaean Kephalaia.

How is this complex situation to be explained? Various answers to this question suggest themselves. Whatever answer may be given, one thing seems certain, that there must have been some connections between these five passages, found in different places, yet ultimately all having to do with essentially the same saying attributed to Jesus.

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[1] The text of this shroud inscription is given by Puech himself in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 300; cf. also his article in Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, CXLVII (Paris, 1955), pp. 126-29; Doresse, pp. 338, 356.

Perhaps the simplest approach to the problem is to assume that the shorter saying recorded in the canonical Gospels was original, and that the remaining four, either with or without the resurrection passage, were secondary to it. Jeremias, commenting on the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5, thus stated that "the whole passage is really nothing more than an expansion of Matt. 10.26=Luke 12.2 round a third parallel member." He stated further that it is merely one of the instances of "secondary expansion of genuine sayings."[1] Similarly, Bultmann considered the same Saying as an example of "an expansion of an original saying by addition."[2] Fitzmyer, in full agreement with Jeremias and Bultmann, concluded that the last member of the Oxyrhynchus Saying, i.e. the resurrection passage, "is probably a literary embellishment of the canonical saying."[3] Wilson extended this line of approach to the Coptic Logion 5, and, in his usual noncommittal manner, summarized the whole issue as follows:

> It is not entirely impossible that the short and canonical version is original, but has been expanded in POxy 654, and that subsequently the reference to the resurrection has been removed by a Gnostic editor [of the Coptic Thomas].[4]

This is indeed a neat reconstruction of what might have happened to the presumed original canonical saying until it finally took the form as it now stands in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. It is unfortunate that Wilson did not include in this straight lineal explanation two other passages, i.e. the one found in the Manichaean Kephalaia and the other inscribed on the Christian burial shroud.

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[1] Jeremias, p. 16.

[2] Rudolf Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, trans. John Marsh (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1963), pp. 89, 91.

[3] Fitzmyer, p. 527.

[4] Wilson, p. 29.

What seems to be a more serious defect in a single-line approach, such as just described, is that it does not adequately explain why the assumed expansion in P. Oxy. 654 was necessary. Fitzmyer of course has given one explanation: literary embellishment. This, however, cannot be accepted as a sufficient reason for such an editorial treatment of the saying on the part of the scribe responsible for P. Oxy. 654. Considering the place of the resurrection-belief in the totality of early Christian religion and life, the sentence directly having to do with that belief is too weighty to be added merely for the sake of a "literary embellishment."

Furthermore, there is reason to believe that the compiler of P. Oxy. 654 would not have gone so far as to append to the original saying a sentence of great importance at his own discretion. That the person behind P. Oxy. 654 was probably acting merely as a copyist, not as an editor, is evident from the Introduction to that Greek Sayings-collection, in which he retained the name of the ostensible author of the document as "Judas Thomas," compared with "Didymos Judas Thomas" of the Prologue to the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

These considerations make it difficult to accept any theory built on the basis of a straight, single-line assumption that the original saying in the canonical Gospels was expanded in P. Oxy.

654, and that this prolonged form subsequently was brought back to its original length by cutting off what had been added. According to this view, there is here a case of what Grant and Freedman called the "Gnostic removal of a reference to the resurrection,"[1] or, to use Wilson's expression, an instance of "a gnosticizing redaction of an originally more orthodox document."[2]

Admittedly, it is understandable that some one with a strong Gnostic bent would have found a reference to resurrection to be unsuitable in his theological system, in which the doctrine of the resurrection had no place. However, these statements on "Gnostic" treatment of the reference to resurrection should be taken to apply only to the editorial work of the Coptic redactor, for the Synoptics, let it be remembered, do not have the resurrection passage either. After all, the shorter form without the reference to resurrection need not always be considered as "Gnostic" or "gnosticizing."

Before bringing this section of discussion in this chapter to its conclusion, the present writer desires to make the following suggestion by way of clarifying the question as to how P. Oxy. 654 ever came to contain the saying with the reference to resurrection. Instead of proceeding with what might be called a _single-line_ approach, he prefers a _double-line_ solution. This hypothesis begins with the assumption that there were two traditions current side by side among the early Christians. The diagram which follows is designed to show these two schemes--the conventional "single-line" approach and the newly proposed "double-line" idea.

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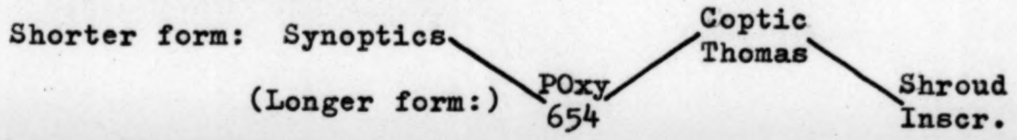
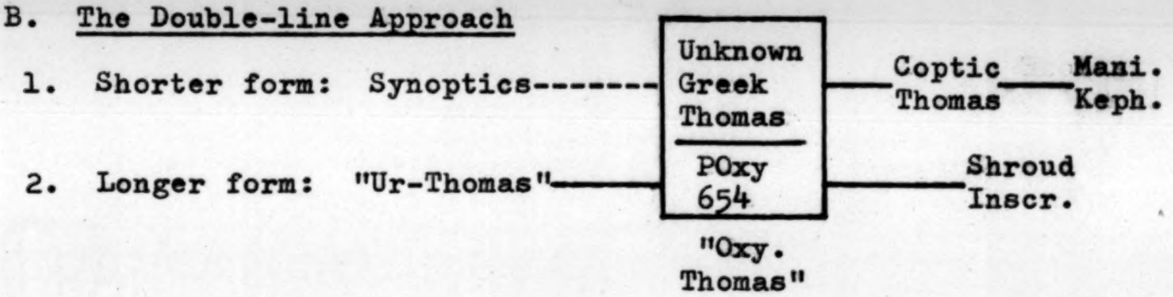
[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 70.

[2] Wilson, p. 29.

A. The Single-line Approach


Shorter form: Synoptics
(Longer form:)
POxy 654
Coptic Thomas
Shroud Inscr.

B. The Double-line Approach


1. Shorter form: Synoptics
2. Longer form: "Ur-Thomas"
Unknown Greek Thomas
POxy 654
"Oxy. Thomas"
Coptic Thomas
Mani. Keph.
Shroud Inscr.

A few words of explanation may be necessary in order to be more specific about the above-mentioned two traditions that were presumably in existence concurrently with one another.

1. One of them contained the saying in the shorter form, i.e. without the reference to resurrection. This tradition came to be incorporated into the canonical Gospels.

At this point, it is also to be assumed that there were more than one version of the Gospel of Thomas in Greek, as indicated by the comprehensive term "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" in this dissertation. P. Oxy. 654 represents one of such Greek versions of Thomas. However, there is a good reason to believe that the Greek version of Thomas that became the basis of the present Coptic Thomas was not P. Oxy. 654 but another Greek Thomas. This is evident from the fact, as already referred to more than once, that P. Oxy. 654 has "Judas Thomas," whereas the Coptic Thomas reads "Didymos Judas Thomas," as the name of the alleged author of the document. The existence of more than one Greek version of the Gospel of Thomas, therefore cannot seriously be doubted.

Presumably, it was this Greek Thomas (in distinction from P. Oxy. 654) that came next to adopt the shorter saying. Whether this saying was derived from the Synoptics (as indicated by a broken line in the diagram) or whether it was taken directly from early Christian tradition, independently of the Synoptics, cannot be determined at this moment.

In the course of time, this Greek Thomas, with the shorter saying and also the name "Didymos Judas Thomas" (instead of "Judas Thomas") came to be used as the basis for the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas. This is the reason why the present Coptic Thomas, Logion 5, also came to contain the shorter form of the saying.

This shorter saying was again followed by the author of the Manichaean Kephalaia, as pointed out earlier. It is thus not necessary to postulate a "Gnostic" redaction or removal of the resurrection reference by the Coptic Thomas or the Manichaean Kephalaia. Of course, those who produced, preserved, or transmitted these documents may have considered it more convenient for their theological presentation not to have such a reference to resurrection. But this does not mean that those people deliberately manipulated the saying (such as cutting off the resurrection passage) so that it was made more suitable for their purposes. It is more likely that the shorter saying originated in early Christian traditions, and reached the Coptic Thomas and the Manichaean Kephalaia by way of an unknown Greek Thomas (as distinct from P. Oxy. 654). In any event, the shorter form of the saying without the resurrection-passage should be considered "original," whether it is found in the Synoptics, the Coptic Thomas, or the Manichaean Kephalaia.

2. The second of the two early Christian traditions concerning this particular saying is believed to have included the saying in the longer form, i.e. with the reference to resurrection. This longer saying became incorporated into the "Ur-Thomas." Presumably being a Jewish-Christian, the compiler of this hypothetical document at the earliest time (i.e. "Ur-Thomas") had no problem in accepting the resurrection-passage, because he himself was well acquainted with the doctrine of the resurrection that had been widely current among the early Christian community at large.

The longer saying, thus taken into the "Ur-Thomas," then became part of the present P. Oxy. 654. Such direct relationship between the "Ur-Thomas" and P. Oxy. 654 may be inferred from the fact that both documents are believed to have shared the same name, "Judas Thomas." The scribe responsible for P. Oxy. 654, in other words, knew nothing about the shorter saying from the beginning, and therefore had no need to "expand" or "redact" the original, as most critics have suggested. The only saying to which he had access was the longer form, in which the saying had already been standing in the "Ur-Thomas." In short, the person directly associated with P. Oxy. 654 simply received, not invented, the longer saying.

The inscription on the Christian burial shroud also belongs to the same line of transmission of the longer saying. Conceived in this way, it turns out to be unnecessary to make the situation complicated by assuming, as Grant and Freedman did, that "perhaps one might regard the inscription as an orthodox, or semi-orthodox, revision of the saying in Thomas."[1] The longer saying, rather, is to be considered just as "original" as the shorter one, in the sense that it too was ultimately derived from the early Christian tradition. Each of these two forms, however, followed different courses of transmission. The longer, by way of the "Ur-Thomas," reached the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654 and finally the Christian burial shroud, whereas the shorter passed through the Synoptics, the unknown Greek *Thomas*, and the Coptic *Thomas* until it finally reached the Manichaean circle where it became incorporated into the Manichaean *Kephalaia*.

Thus it is unwarranted to compare these two forms of the saying with one another in an attempt to decide which of the two is more original. The proposed "double-line" approach makes it clear that both sayings, shorter and longer, ultimately go back to early Christian traditions, and therefore are to be considered equally "original." Moreover, there is no need to speak of any "Gnostic" redaction or editing at any point on either one of the two lines of transmission of the saying. This concludes the present investigation of Logion 5 in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* and the corresponding Saying 5 in P. Oxy. 654.

The logion that comes next in the series of examinations in the present chapter is Logion 6. It has already been dealt with in the preceding Chapter VI in connection with the meaning of the term "hidden." However, the logion may be cited again for examination from a different angle. It reads as follows:

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 125.

> His disciples asked Him, they said to Him: Wouldst thou that we fast, and how should we pray (and) should we give alms, and what diet should we observe?
> Jesus said: Do not lie; and do not do what you hate, for all things are manifest before Heaven. For there is nothing hidden that shall not be revealed and there is nothing covered that shall remain without being uncovered.
>
> Logion 6 (81.14-23)

During the course of previous discussions on this logion, it was pointed out that an "anti-Jewish" label had often been attached to this logion without adequate justification. On the contrary, it was shown that the logion should be considered as being in perfect harmony with the general Jewish-Christian climate, out of which the "Ur-Thomas" presumably was born.

Logion 6 has its parallel in Saying 6 of P. Oxy. 654. Unfortunately, however, as Grenfell and Hunt noted long ago, the papyrus at this point "is broken beyond hope of recovery."[1] Only the middle third of each of the nine lines that constitute this Saying has been preserved. Fitzmyer recently restored the Greek Saying, but he was able to do so only on the basis of the corresponding Coptic logion.

Circumstances such as these make it obvious that no significant result can be expected to come out of a comparative study of this logion with the parallel Greek Saying. For the purpose of the present study, Logion 6 does not seem to provide any important materials to be taken into account at this moment.

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, OP IV, p. 9.

Before passing from this logion to the next, however, a word may be said about the doubtful ending of Saying 6 in P. Oxy. 654. After the lines which cover the same content as the Coptic Logion 6, there are in the Greek papyrus still three more lines to be restored. These lines are mutilated even more badly than the preceding ones, so that no sure restoration would seem possible. The original text as transcribed by Grenfell and Hunt runs as follows:

40 [. . . . .] ΚΑΡΙ [. .] ΕΣΤΙΝ [
[. . . . .] Ω ΕΣΤ[
[. . . . .] ΙΝ

Because of the great extent of damage, Grenfell and Hunt did not venture to fill in these blanks. They did, however, suggest that these lines might have contained the concluding part of Jesus' answer (given in Saying 6), with the promise which would run as: "Blessed is he who doeth these things."[1] Thus they took these lines as part of the same saying.

This suggestion was recently followed up by Fitzmyer, who reconstructed those three lines as follows:[2]

μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστιν [ὃ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῶν]
[πάντα γὰρ ἐν φανερ]ῷ ἐστ[αι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὃς]
[ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐστ]ιν.

Ble]ss[ed] is [he who does not do these things.]
[For all will be mani]fest [before the Father who]
[is in heave]n.[3]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Fitzmyer, p. 529, admits that the restoration of these lines "is sheer conjecture on [his] part."

[3] Fitzmyer, p. 528. This translation is his, except the opening word, which he renders by "happy" instead of the usual "blessed."

Contrary to Grenfell and Hunt, who took the first half of these lines in the positive sense: "Blessed is he who doeth these things," Fitzmyer interprets it in the negative: "Blessed is he who does not do these things." It is natural for the latter to do so, since he thinks that the word ταῦτα ("these things") "refers to lying and doing what one abominates,"[1] as indicated by Jesus in his answer to the disciples: "Do not lie and what you hate do not do" (Saying 6). Even so, Fitzmyer agrees with Grenfell and Hunt in regarding these lines as part of the same saying.

The problem, however, is not quite so easy to solve as Fitzmyer seems to suggest. The word μακάριος ("blessed"), it is to be noted, occurs in the Coptic logion which follows Logion 6. Thus Doresse, followed by a few others, dealt with these lines as belonging to a new saying which corresponds to the Coptic Logion 7.[2]

Fitzmyer, however, is opposed to Doresse on the ground, among others, that "the letters that remain on the following lines [i.e. lines 40-42 just quoted] do not seem to agree with any possible reconstruction of the Greek of the following Coptic saying [i.e. Logion 7]."[3] Although this is not yet the place to deal with the Coptic Logion 7, which will come shortly, it should be pointed out that, soon after Fitzmyer made the statement that has just been cited, Rodolphe Kasser, in opposition to Fitzmyer, proposed a new reconstruction of these lines in light of the Coptic Logion 7.[1] It is to be regretted, however, that Kasser did not give any marks of line-division, so that the question of how each of these three lines should be restored (which is another of Fitzmyer's objections to the theory of separation of these lines from Saying 6) does not seem to be answered satisfactorily. Yet, Kasser's proposal seems to the present writer worth taking into consideration. The following is Kasser's reconstruction, translated and divided into lines by the present writer:

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[1] Fitzmyer, p. 528.

[2] Doresse, p. 356.

[3] Fitzmyer, p. 529.

40 (last 8 letters of Saying 6) μα]κάρι[ός] ἐστιν [ὁ λέων ὃν φάγε-]
41 [ται ἄνθρωπος καὶ λέ]ω⟨ν⟩ ἔστ[αι ἄνθρωπος καὶ]
42 [ἀνάθεμα ἐστ]ιν [. . .

Ble]ss[ed] is [the lion which]
[man eats and (the) li]on becom[es man and]
[cursed i]s [. . .

The number of letters in lines 40 and 41 is thirty-two (including the final eight letters of the preceding Saying) and thirty-three, respectively. Compared with the average of thirty, these figures may be slightly longer, but still within the permissible range. The only difficulty in this reconstruction, which Fitzmyer would hasten to point out, is that line 40 is already very full and therefore cannot include the usual opening formula, "Jesus says," containing at least eight letters in Greek (ΛΕΓΕΙ $\overline{\mathrm{IH\Sigma}}$).[2] For Fitzmyer, to whom the possibility did not occur of restoring these lines in such a way as Kasser was later to suggest, the omission of this introductory sentence would render strong support for his theory that these lines are part of the same Saying (i.e. Saying 6). Now that Kasser's proposal commends itself for serious consideration, absence of the familiar formula can no longer carry as much weight as it did for Fitzmyer. In any event, there is always the possibility that the formula might have been omitted by carelessness on the part of the scribe.

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[1] Kasser, p. 38.

[2] "Jesus" could be abbreviated as $\overline{\mathrm{I\Sigma}}$, but in P. Oxy. 654 $\overline{\mathrm{IH\Sigma}}$ is the more usual form, as preserved in lines 2, 27, and 36.

Thus, inasmuch as there is no evidence to the contrary, it seems safe to conclude that the Oxyrhynchus Saying 6 (like the Coptic Logion 6) did not have any longer ending. Rather, here are two versions (Greek and Coptic) of the same identical saying, covering the same content. They therefore do not give rise to any issue of importance for the present study.

The above observation clears the way for consideration of the next saying, the Coptic Logion 7. The "official" edition translates it as follows:

> Jesus said: Blessed is the lion which the man eats and the lion will become man; and cursed is the man whom the lion eats and the lion will become man.
>
> Logion 7 (81.23-28)

As pointed out previously, this logion has only a partial parallel in P. Oxy. 654, Saying 7. Furthermore, it is entirely new, in the sense that there is no corresponding passage in the canonical Gospels.

Doresse interpreted the "lion" in this logion as representing "human passions, or more precisely, the lying spirit of evil." This, according to him, "is suggested by a passage from a Coptic Manichaean Psalm (CCLVII): 'This lion which is within me, which defiles me at every moment, I have strangled it and cast it out of my soul. . . . '"[1]

For Gärtner, the "lion" symbolizes "the material world," "the material side of man."[2] With this interpretation as a guideline, the logion is paraphrased by him as follows:

> When man conquers the material side of existence--the body which is of matter--he is then saved; but if he is seduced by the material world, he is without knowledge and under the curse of oblivion. . . . If "the lion," the material in or around man, can be "absorbed" by his higher nature, then it is no longer in control. But if the lower, the material, in man absorbs the higher, he is cursed and lost.[3]

Grant and Freedman referred to the Naassene doctrine preserved in Hippolytus' Refutatio and stated that "the lion is a symbol of sexual desire" in that system.[4]

It would be unfortunate, however, if these comments should give the reader the impression that the use of "lion" is something new, to be found only in the Gnostic or Manichaean thought-system. The truth is that the figure of a "lion" was employed rather freely by the Biblical writers. In some cases, the "lion" is used as a reference to powerfulness and greatness, but not necessarily wickedness. Thus it is said in Proverbs 19:12: "The king's wrath is as the roaring of a lion; but his favor is as dew upon the grass." Similarly, Judah is called "a lion's whelp" (Genesis 49:9), presumably because of his youthful vigor as a tribe. Judas Maccabaeus, in whose hand "salvation prospered," is also compared to a "lion": "In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey. For he pursued the wicked, and sought them out, and burnt up those that vexed his people" (I Maccabees 3:4-5).

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[1] Doresse, p. 371.

[2] Gärtner, p. 162.

[3] Ibid., p. 163. In support of his thesis, Gärtner refers to the following passages where the so-called "lion-symbolism" can be detected: Hypostasis of the Archons, 142. 10ff.; Mandaean Ginza (ed. Lidzbarski, pp. 430, 507); Valentinian Excerpta ex Theodoto, 84; Manichaean Psalm-book, 149. 22ff.

[4] Grant-Freedman, p. 126; cf. Refutatio v. 8. 15.

On the other hand, the term "lion" is often used in the bad sense, frequently for "the wicked." In the Book of Amos, for example, the "lion" appears as a powerful, destructive creature, the bane of the flock: "As the shepherd rescueth out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the children of Israel be rescued that sit in Samaria in the corner of a couch, and on the silken cushions of a bed" (Amos 3:12). It is in the same sense that the "lion" is conspicuous by its absence at the future age of blessedness (Isaiah 35:9), or, if not entirely absent from the scene, the "lion" will completely be domesticated (Isaiah 11:6-7; 65:25). In the New Testament, the devil is definitely likened to a "lion," as in I Peter 5:8: "Be sober, be watchful. Your adversary the devil prowls around like a roaring lion, seeking some one to devour."

The "lion" thus serves in the Bible as a symbol of power and greatness, or of ferocity. Presumably because of the lion's physical characteristics, for good or bad, the Biblical writers, particularly the apocalyptists, did not hesitate to incorporate the figure of a lion into their ideas. Ezekiel's "cherubim" thus had the face of a lion as one of their four faces (Ezekiel 1:10; 10:14). In the Book of Daniel, the first of the great beasts to come out of the sea was "like a lion, and had eagle's wings" (Daniel

7:4). In the New Testament, the first of the four living creatures around the throne of God is described by the author of the Johannine Apocalypse as being "like a lion" (Revelation 4:7). Elsewhere in the same book, the seven-headed beast rising out of the sea is said to have a mouth "like a lion's" (13:2; cf. 9:8, 17).

Given these Biblical references, then, it seems quite proper to conclude that the logion in point should primarily be read against the same background that is reflected in the Bible. To treat the logion in the Gnostic or Manichaean context may not be impossible, as Doresse, Gärtner, Grant and Freedman tried to demonstrate. Such an effort, however, seems to the present writer neither necessary nor desirable. Furthermore, the passages referred to by these scholars (particularly Gärtner) in support of their Gnostic interpretation of this logion, in most cases, belong to a much more fully developed stage in the evolution of Gnosticism. To appeal indiscriminately to all the available materials, therefore, is often quite misleading, especially in a study of a document which stands on the borderline between orthodoxy and heresy, as may well be the case with the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

In keeping with the rich contents of human experience that are sufficiently illustrated in the Bible, it should not be difficult to grasp properly what the logion was intended to convey to the reader. Thus the logion may be interpreted as referring to: (1) the individual believer's inner struggle; (2) the church's effort to attain its true unity;[1] or (3) the Roman persecution which the early Christians had to undergo, as reflected in the Apocalypse of John.

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[1] Specific reference here is to Gal. 5:15: "But if you bite and devour one another take heed that you are not consumed by

The ironical expression in this logion that a lion may be blessed by being eaten by man is remarkable. To bless a lion, needless to say, is not the point of this logion. The man, nevertheless, will be cursed if he is eaten by the lion. Whether the lion is to be blessed because it is eaten by man, or the man is to be cursed because he is eaten by the lion, the important thing really is that the man eats the lion and thereby absorbs it, so that it becomes (part of, or, identical with) him.

Presumably, this is the reason why the same sentence: "and the lion will become man," is repeated twice in the logion:

> Blessed is the lion which the man eats
> and the lion will become man;
> and cursed is the man whom the lion eats
> and the lion will become man.

Some scholars, however, evidently are not happy with the way in which the logion is concluded. Doresse, for example, translated the logion as follows:

> Blessed is the lion which a man eats
> so that the lion becomes a man.
> But cursed is the man whom a lion eats
> so that the man becomes a lion![1]

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one another." It is interesting to note that in the Coptic versions (both Sahidic and Bohairic) of this Pauline passage the same verb ⲞⲨⲰⲘ ("eat," "devour") as in Logion 7 is used. For the various meanings of this Coptic word, such as "swallow," "submit to," or "absorb," in addition to the ordinary "eat" or "devour," cf. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 478.

[1] Doresse, p. 356 (underlining by the present writer). Note that the order of "man" and "lion" is reversed in the last line.

"For the end of this sentence," he further commented, "the Coptic reads literally: ' . . . so that the lion becomes a man'; but it seems most probable that the correct meaning is as given in the translation."[1]

The same emendation has been suggested by the translators of the "official" edition, who in the footnote reversed the order of words in the last sentence so as to read: ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓ ("the man becomes a lion"), rather than: ⲡⲙⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲣ̄ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ("the lion becomes a man").[2]

The original reading in the Coptic manuscript, however, is clear enough, and leaves no doubt as to how it should be translated. Moreover, if the interpretation of this logion presented in the preceding pages is correct, there is no need for such an emendation of the text. Strange as it may seem at first sight, the parallelism in this logion nevertheless strengthens, rather than weakens, the effectiveness of the literary device, i.e. the repetition of the same sentence: "and the lion will become man."

As pointed out earlier, it is now evident, thanks to Kasser's ingenious restoration, that P. Oxy. 654 (lines 40-42) preserves the first half of the Coptic Logion 7. Even so, the fact remains that this original Oxyrhynchus manuscript actually contains only nine letters on line 40, four on line 41, and two on line 42. Compared with the average of thirty letters on each line in P. Oxy. 654, these figures indicate that the damage in the manuscript is quite extensive. This means that any attempt to reconstruct these lines must be largely dependent upon the Coptic Logion 7. For this reason, as in the case of Logion 6, it is not to be expected that a comparison between the Coptic Logion 7 and the Oxyrhynchus Saying 7 will produce any significant results for the present purpose.

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[1] Ibid., p. 371.

[2] See the "official" edition, pp. 4-5, note on line 28.

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In the preceding pages the Prologue and the first seven logia of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* have been critically examined, particularly in relation to the Oxyrhynchus Fragment 654. Now is the time to turn to another portion of the Coptic *Thomas*, covering eight consecutive logia (Nos. 26-33). As pointed out previously, this section of *Thomas* has a Greek parallel in another Oxyrhynchus Fragment numbered One (P. Oxy. 1).

It may be recalled that, unlike the previous Fragment 654, this one now under discussion is a leaf from a papyrus codex, containing eight Sayings ascribed to Jesus on both sides--first on the *verso*, then on the *recto*. It is also to be noted that in this manuscript the name of Jesus is invariably abbreviated as $\overline{\mathrm{I}\Sigma}$,[1] whereas in P. Oxy. 654 it is always given the form $\overline{\mathrm{IH}\Sigma}$.[2]

These differences are here mentioned not to jeopardize in any sense the fact that these two Oxyrhynchus Fragments (654 and 1) in content are but different portions of a single basic production. That unity has never been questioned seriously since the time of

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[1] See P. Oxy. 1, *verso*, lines 5, 11; *recto*, lines (23?), 30, 36, 41.

[2] See P. Oxy. 654, lines 2, 27, 36.

Grenfell and Hunt. The differences mentioned in the preceding paragraph, however, do indicate that there was more than one copy of the original Gospel of Thomas (i.e. the "Ur-Thomas"). P. Oxy. 654 and 1 thus represent two separate copies of the same logia-collection bearing the name of Thomas.

The first two Coptic logia, corresponding to the first two Sayings in P. Oxy. 1, may be discussed only briefly, since there seems no serious divergence between the Coptic and the Greek. First, Logion 26 reads as follows:

> Jesus said: The mote that is in thy brother's eye thou seest, but the beam that is in thine eye, thou seest not. When thou castest the beam out of thine eye, then thou wilt see clearly to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye.
>
> Logion 26 (86.12-17)

Parallel to this logion is Saying 1 in P. Oxy. 1. Unfortunately, the Greek preserves only the last part of the Saying. Fitzmyer, following the Coptic Logion 26, has restored additional eight lines preceding those that are remaining. Below is Fitzmyer's reconstruction and translation of the First Saying in P. Oxy. 1:

> [Jesus says, You see the splinter in your brother's eye, but the beam in your own eye you do not see. Hypocrite, cast the beam out of your eye,] and then you will see in order to cast out the splinter which (is) in your brother's eye.[1]
>
> (P. Oxy. 1, lines i-viii, 1-4)

Next, Logion 27 runs as follows:

> ⟨Jesus said:⟩ If you fast not from the world, you will not find the Kingdom; if you keep not the Sabbath as Sabbath, you will not see the Father.
>
> Logion 27 (86.17-20)

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[1] Fitzmyer, p. 531.

The Oxyrhynchus Saying 2, which is paralleled to this logion, has been preserved in a perfect condition, so that there is no need of textual reconstruction. In Fitzmyer's translation, it reads as follows:

> Jesus says, If you do not fast (to) the world, you will not find the kingdom of God; and if you do not make the sabbath a (real) sabbath, you will not see the Father.[1]
>
> (P. Oxy. 1, lines 4-11)

The Saying has no direct parallel in the canonical Gospels. However, the fact that both the Coptic and the Greek retain the saying in an almost identical form seems to assure its standing in an ancient Christian tradition, the tradition that presumably became incorporated into the "Ur-Thomas." In this connection, one may well remember that Fitzmyer saw "no reason why this saying could not be an authentic one."[2] Although the matter of authenticity is not the main subject of this dissertation, such a judgment seems to encourage the investigator further to pursue the thesis that this saying should be understood to have belonged to the core of early Christian tradition.

To mention one good reason why the saying is believed to be primitive in character, attention ought to be directed to the Coptic phrase: "to keep the Sabbath as Sabbath" (ⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲁⲙⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ). This corresponds to the similar Greek expression in the Second Saying of P. Oxy. 1 quoted above: σαββατίζειν τὸ σάββατον (literally, "to sabbatize the sabbath"). This so-called

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[1] Ibid., p. 532.

[2] Ibid., p. 534.

"cognate accusative construction" is precisely the same as the one found in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament: "from evening to evening ye shall keep your sabbaths" (ἀπὸ ἑσπέρας ἕως ἑσπέρας σαββατιεῖτε τὰ σάββατα ὑμῶν; Leviticus 23:32).

A word may be said about the absence in the Coptic of the usual introductory formula: "Jesus said" (ⲠⲈϪⲈ ⲒⲤ̅ ϪⲈ). As in Saying 7 of P. Oxy. 654 discussed earlier, however, this absence is likely due to a scribal error, rather than indicating that the logion is a continuation of the preceding one, as Garitte assumed.[1] At any rate, the saying appears in identical form in both versions, Greek and Coptic, which seems to suggest its primitive character.

Logion 28, which has already been dealt with in a different connection, may be cited here again. It reads as follows:

> Jesus said: I took my stand in the midst of the world and in flesh I appeared to them; I found them all drunk, I found none among them athirst. And my soul was afflicted for the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and do not see that empty they have come into the world (and that) empty they seek to go out of the world again. But now they are drunk. When they have shaken off their wine, then will they repent.
>
> Logion 28 (86.20-31)[2]

The corresponding Saying in P. Oxy. 1 (Saying 3) is badly mutilated, with the latter half of the Saying completely missing. Fitzmyer, on the basis of the Coptic logion, restored this Saying including those missing lines numbering eight as follows:

> Jesus says, I s[t]ood in the midst of the world and I appeared to them in flesh and I found them all drunken and I

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[1] Garitte in Muséon, LXX (1957), p. 70.

[2] Log. 28 was treated toward the end of the preceding Chap. VI.

> did not find one among them thirsting and my soul is pained for the sons of men, for they are blind in their heart and do [not] se[e that they have come into the world empty. They seek further to go out of the world empty. But now they are drunk. When they put away their wine, then they will do penance].[1]
>
> (P. Oxy. 1, lines 11-21, i-viii)

A comparison between the Coptic Logion 28 and the Greek Saying 3 thus restored, according to Fitzmyer, shows "how closely the Coptic translates the Greek in this saying."[2] Specifically, he calls attention to the absence, both in the Coptic and the Greek, of the definite article which is normally expected to occur before the word "flesh" in the opening sentence: "I took my stand in the midst of the world and in flesh." He also noted that the Coptic ⲉⲗⲁⲁⲩ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧⲟⲩ ("none among them") is "a literal rendering" of the Greek phrase: οὐδένα . . . ἐν αὐτοῖς (P. Oxy. 1, lines 16-17). Evidences such as these are important for the present purpose, for they offer a significant clue to the decision to be made about the relation of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* to the Greek "Oxyrhynchus Thomas," of which P. Oxy. 1 is one representative.

Next, Logion 29 reads as follows:

> Jesus said: If the flesh has come into existence because of ⟨the⟩ spirit, it is a marvel; but if ⟨the⟩spirit (has come into existence) because of the body, it is a marvel of marvels. But I marvel at how this great wealth has made its home in this poverty.
>
> Logion 29 (86.31-87.2)

The only remains of the Oxyrhynchus Saying corresponding to this logion are found on line 22 on the *recto* side of P. Oxy. 1. There are in the middle of this line on the top of the page traces of two letters that are barely discernible, in addition to the word πτωχεία ("poverty") immediately following those two letters. Grenfell and Hunt thought that line 22 probably "forms part of a distinct saying," rather than the end of the preceding saying.[1] The discovery of the Coptic Thomas has proven that they were right. However, the scantiness of the letters preserved, the lack of any clue as to how many lines had been lost at the bottom of the preceding page (i.e. the verso side of the papyrus leaf) after line 21, and the absence of any passage containing the word "poverty" in the canonical Gospels, these adverse conditions made the first editors of the papyrus fragment to prefer not to venture a reconstruction of this line.

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[1] Fitzmyer, pp. 535-36.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 535.

Fitzmyer, assisted by the parallel logion in the Coptic, suggested "a tentative restoration" of the Greek Saying, of which line 22 evidently forms the end, by adding nine lines preceding it. Although there is "no guarantee that the Coptic version is an exact reproduction of the Greek," as Fitzmyer admitted,[2] there seems no special material coming out of a comparison between the two versions (Coptic and Greek) of the saying, on which to build any significant judgment with regard to the problem of relationship between the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment 1 and the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

The present writer, however, thinks it important to note at this point that there is evidence that this saying was born out of the Jewish background. In the Pirqe Aboth, there is a saying attributed to Rabbi Jonathan, who probably was a disciple of Rabbi Akiba. It runs as follows:

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[1] Grenfell-Hunt, Logia, p. 12.

[2] Fitzmyer, p. 537.

> R. Jonathan said: He that fulfills the Law in poverty shall in the end fulfil it in wealth; and he that neglects the Law in wealth shall in the end neglect it in poverty.[1]

The point of this Rabbinical saying seems clear: irrespective of what condition one may find himself in, fulfil the Law! In wealth or in poverty, rich or poor, that is the duty of man. In fulfilling the Law, wealth and poverty lose their superficial distinction.

The present writer believes that such is also the thought that lies behind the saying, both in Coptic and Greek, particularly behind the final sentence: "This great wealth has made its home in this poverty." This is the fact at which one cannot but "marvel."

Furthermore, the Gnostic (and sometimes the Pauline) distinction between "spirit" and "matter" seems to the present writer to have no place in this logion. Some scholars, taking the Gnosticist point of view, interpret the two "if"-clauses in the logion as false statements which this logion presumably is intended to reject. The logion, understood in this way, would mean to say: "Some (presumably the orthodox Christians) think that 'the flesh has come into existence because (or, for the sake) of the spirit,' but that is not true! Similarly, others say that 'the spirit has come into existence because of the body,' but that, too, is not true!" Grant and

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[1] Pirqe Aboth 4:9; Herbert Danby, The Mishnah, trans. with introduction and notes (London: Oxford University Press, 1933; repr. 1958), p. 454.

Freedman wrote thus:

> The flesh did not come into existence for the spirit, for the two are opposed in Pauline (Galatians 5:17; Romans 8:6, etc.) and in Gnostic thought. Similarly the spirit did not come into existence for the body.[1]

What the logion actually says, however, is that the flesh has come into existence because of the spirit, and "it is a marvel," and that the spirit has come into existence because of the body, and it is "a marvel of marvels." The logion, then, is not intended to serve as a Gnostic polemic against the non-Gnostic Christian doctrine of man as a union of spirit and matter, soul and body. Rather, it should be taken as an expression of the Christian effort to reaffirm that doctrine against the growing tendency within early Christianity toward a dualistic separation of those two elements.

Thus, Logion 29 and the corresponding Greek Saying in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment 1 preserve the saying which is deeply rooted in the Christian, especially the Jewish-Christian soil.

Passing on to the next logion in the Coptic Thomas, namely Logion 30, one finds the situation considerably different from the preceding examples. In this logion, there seems to be a definite indication of editorial work on the part of the scribe who was responsible for the Coptic version of the Gospel of Thomas. The situation at this point is unique in that the saying preserved in the Coptic Logion 30 is only one half of the Fifth Saying in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragment 1. The other half of this Greek Saying is found as the second part of an entirely different logion in the Coptic Thomas, namely, Logion 77. For this reason, it seems best to quote first the Greek Saying 5 as a whole. According to Fitzmyer's reconstruction and in the words of his translation, it reads as follows:

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 148.

> [Jesus sa]ys, [Wh]ere there are [three g]o[ds, they ar]e gods. And where one is all alone to himself, I am with him. Take up the stone and there you will find me; split the wood and I am there.[1]
>
> (P. Oxy. 1, lines 23-30)

To the first half of this Saying is paralleled the Coptic Logion 30, which runs as follows:

> Jesus said: Where there are three gods, they are gods; where there are two or one, I am with him.
>
> Logion 30 (87.2-5)

In the Oxyrhynchus manuscript, the Saying has been preserved in a poor condition, particularly at the beginning, as can readily be seen in the quotation above. The first five lines, as transcribed by Grenfell and Hunt, stand in the original fragment as follows:[2]

23 [ΛΕΓ]ΕΙ [ΙΣ ΟΠ]ΟΥ ΕΑΝ ΩΣΙΝ
24 [. . . .]Ε[. . .]. . Θ̣ΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ
25 [. . .]Σ̣Ο̣.Ε[. .] ΕΣΤΙΝ ΜΟΝΟΣ
26 [. .]Τ̣Ω ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΜΕΤ ΑΥ
27 Τ[ΟΥ]

First, attention should be directed to the first two lines. Grenfell and Hunt were greatly troubled by the three letters on line 24, ΕΟΙ, preceded by a doubtful letter resembling Θ. These scholars finally came up with the suggestion that the word ΑΘΕΟΙ ("ungodly," "without God"; cf. Ephesians 2:12) might be the most feasible reading. With this word in mind, they then commented on the Saying by stating that what was intended by it probably was to emphasize "a contrast . . . between the many ungodly and the one true believer:--'where all men else are unbelievers, if one alone is (faithful), I am with him'."[1] Yet, presumably because of the seriousness of the problem involved, they decided not to give any concrete reconstruction of their own.

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[1] Fitzmyer, p. 539.

[2] Grenfell-Hunt, Logia, p. 9.

Almost concurrently with the publication, in 1897, of Grenfell and Hunt's preliminary report on the first of the famous Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments, Friedrich Wilhelm Blass in his article on P. Oxy. 1 expressed the opinion that the second line of the Saying (line 24) should be restored as:[2]

24 [β', οὔκ] ε[ἰσι]ν ἄθεοι

Translated into English, then, the opening sentence of the Saying would read as follows:

> Jesus says, Where there are two, they are not (οὔκ) without God (ἄθεοι).

It is obvious that Blass is in agreement with Grenfell and Hunt in reading ἄθεοι, but differs from them in inserting the negative particle οὔκ ("not"). Even so, his reconstruction, including the numeral in cipher, β' ("two"), has been accepted by practically all subsequent critics.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[2] F. W. Blass, "Das neue Logia-Fragment von Oxyrhynchus," *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (1897), pp. 498-500; referred to by H. G. E. White, *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus, Edited with Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Commentary* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 35; cf. also Fitzmyer, p. 539.

It is interesting to note that Grant and Freedman, while accepting the traditional reading since Blass, were nevertheless not perfectly happy with keeping οὔκ on line 24 of the Saying. Accordingly, they suggested that "perhaps it should read, 'wherever there are two, they are without God'."[2] By making this suggestion, Grant and Freedman were actually returning to the original interpretation of the Saying proposed by Grenfell and Hunt a long time ago.

The newly discovered Coptic logion, however, has prompted the critics of the present time, notably Fitzmyer, to make further adjustments in the wording of the Greek Saying. It is now obvious that the long-accepted numeral, "two" (β′), should be replaced by "three" (γ′). Also, the word ἄθεοι, which was first suggested by Grenfell and Hunt and widely accepted during the subsequent sixty-some years, should now be read θεοί ("gods"). Taking into account all the new information obtained from the Coptic, Fitzmyer has restored the first two lines of the Greek Saying as follows:

> 23 [λέγ]ει [᾿Ι(ησοῦ)ς· ὅ]που ἐὰν ὦσιν
> 24 [γ′ θε]ο[ί,] ε[ἰσὶ]ν θεοί·
>
> [Jesus sa]ys, [Wh]ere there are
> [three g]o[ds, they ar]e gods.[3]

Clearly, this is a perfect Greek reproduction of the Coptic logion.

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[1] So, e.g., Doresse, p. 360; Jeremias in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 108; Grant-Freedman, p. 48; cf. Fitzmyer, p. 539.

[2] Grant-Freedman, p. 149 (underline theirs).

[3] Fitzmyer, p. 539.

Yet, it is extremely important to note here that even this brilliant reconstruction evidently did not enable Fitzmyer himself to see exactly what the real meaning of the Saying is. In fact, he admitted that the Saying still remained "mysterious."[1]

As a contribution toward the clarification of this seemingly puzzling Saying, the present writer desires to propose a new reading for line 24. This reading replaces the above-quoted five letters, γ' θεοί ("three gods") by another five, τρεῖς.[2] Thus the line is now restored as follows:

24 [τρεῖς,] ε[ἰσὶ]ν θεοί·

With this new word, τρεῖς, the first sentence of the Greek Saying accordingly should be rendered as follows:

23 [Jesus sa]ys, [*Wh*]*ere there are*
24 [*three*,] *th*[*ey ar*]*e gods*.

This part of the Oxyrhynchus Saying, thus restored, seems to have a good Jewish background. The particular reference in view is found in the way in which the Rabbis interpreted Psalm 82:1: "God (אֱלֹהִים) standeth in the congregation of God (אֵל); He judgeth among the gods (אֱלֹהִים)." With regard to this passage, Rabbi Halafta ben Dosa, of the second half of the second century, is reported in the *Mishnah* as having said the following words:

> If ten men sit together and occupy themselves in the Law, the Divine Presence [the *Shekinah*] rests among them, for it is

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[1] *Ibid*.

[2] The numeral τρεῖς, "three," is both masculine and feminine (the neuter being τρία), and therefore can be translated either "three men" or "three women." Whether masculine or feminine, the important point in this new reading is that the word has to do with human beings, not gods.

> written, "God standeth in the congregation of God." . . . And whence [do we learn this] even of three? Because it is written, "He judgeth among the judges."[1]

It should be noted that in this Rabbinical saying the Rabbi took the word "gods" in the original text of Psalm 82:1 to mean "judges." This is evident from the way in which he quoted the passage from the Bible. Needless to say, the "judges," according to this interpretation, are not heavenly beings but actual judges in a court.

Furthermore, according to the Rabbinic tradition, the minimum number of judges to sit in a court must be three, as clearly stated in a tractate called Sanhedrin, which begins with the following statement:

> Cases concerning property (are decided) by three (judges); cases concerning theft or personal injury, by three; claims for full damages or half-damages . . . (are decided) by three (judges).[2]

The fact that the Rabbis at times used the terms "gods" and "judges" interchangeably, and that the minimum number of judges in a small court[3] is set as three, has a significant bearing upon the understanding of the background of the first sentence of the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5 as restored above: "where there are three, they are gods."

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[1] Pirqe Aboth 3:6 (Danby, op. cit., p. 450).

[2] Sanhedrin 1:1 (Danby, op. cit., p. 382). It may also be kept in mind that the term "congregation," in Ps. 82:1 as well as in Num. 35:24, 25, is interpreted in the Sanhedrin as an equivalent for "court," rather than for a congregation for worship (cf. Sanhedrin 1:6). The tractate entitled "Sanhedrin," as Danby noted, deals specifically with "the constitution and procedure of courts of law" (Danby, op. cit., p. 382, n. 2).

[3] A three-judge court is to be distinguished from larger ones, such as the greater and the lesser Sanhedrin, with seventy-one and twenty-three judges, respectively (cf. Sanhedrin 1:6; Danby, op. cit., p. 383).

From what has been said, it should be clear that the "three" persons in this Greek Saying from Oxyrhynchus can be called "gods," in the sense that they, serving as God-appointed advocates of true religion, have become "gods," in much the same way as the "judges" were identified by the Rabbis with "gods" (of Psalm 82:1). In any event, it seems evident that the opening sentence of the Greek Saying 5 (and the corresponding Coptic Logion 30) will be best understood when interpreted against the Jewish background such as just pointed out.

There remains a question, however, as to why the Coptic has "three gods" (ϣομτ ⲛ̄ⲛοⲩⲧⲉ) in the place of the presumed "three (persons)" of the Greek Saying. The original Coptic manuscript at this point leaves no doubt about the clarity and legibility of the text. Consequently, the natural way of explaining why such a difference came to exist would be either to regard it as due to a scribal error, or to assume that the Coptic editor might have taken the word "three" to mean "three gods" and altered the text accordingly. In this latter case, then, the process of thinking on the part of the Coptic editor would be similar to that in which the mind of the Rabbis operated as they interpreted Psalm 82:1 in their own way. The only difference here between the Rabbis and the Coptic editor is that the latter reversed the order of thinking, that is to say, he started with "three (persons)" and changed it to "gods."[1]

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[1] The Gnosticist view that the difference between the Greek and the Coptic at this point signifies a "Gnostic" polemic against the Christian trinitarian doctrine (the implication here being that "god" is inferior to "Jesus"), is not convincing; for such a position, cf. Grant-Freedman, p. 149. Neither does the theory seem tenable that the first part of the Saying in Greek is intended to

As has been pointed out in the foregoing pages, the Jewish atmosphere should be considered as the immediate background of the first sentence of the saying, both in Greek and Coptic. This conclusion also applies to the second sentence of the Oxyrhynchus Saying: "And where one is all alone to himself, I am with him" (lines 24-27). Compared with the first two lines, which have just been discussed, these four lines have been preserved in a much better condition, and therefore do not cause any problem, so far as the reading of the text is concerned.

However, it should be pointed out that this part of the Greek Saying does not match the corresponding portion of the Coptic Logion 30. The Greek has "one (all alone to himself)," whereas the Coptic reads "two or one." Fitzmyer thus stated that "the Greek does not correspond to the Coptic here, so we cannot force it."[1]

In the judgment of the present writer, it makes little difference whether the saying should have "one" or "two or one." Basically, it is a matter of literary device. In support of this conclusion, a saying preserved in Ephrem Syrus (about 306-373) may be quoted. It runs as follows:

> Where one is (alone), there also am I, . . . and where two are, there am I also.[2]

Thus it is obvious that the number of the persons involved in a pas-

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contrast sharply with what follows: "where there is one all alone to himself, I am with him," as first suggested by Grenfell and Hunt and widely accepted during subsequent years.

[1] Fitzmyer, p. 539.

[2] Ephrem (Ephraem) Syrus _Evangelii concordantis expositio_ xiv. 24 (trans. Jeremias, p. 95). This passage is referred to also by Grenfell-Hunt, _Logia_, p. 13, and Fitzmyer, pp. 539-40.

sage such as this one could be increased without limit.

In addition to this passage transmitted by the fourth-century Syrian Biblical exegete, there are at least two important Jewish sayings preserved in the Mishnah. One of them is a saying attributed to Rabbi Hananiah ben Teradion, who was killed in A.D. 135 at the time of the Bar Cocheba revolt. It reads as follows:

> If two sit together and no words of the Law (are spoken) between them, there is the seat of the scornful, as it is written, "Nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful" [Psalm 1:1]. But if two sit together and words of the Law (are spoken) between them, the Divine Presence [the Shekinah] rests between them, as it is written, "Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another: and the Lord hearkened, and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name" [Malachi 3:16]. Scripture speaks here of "two"; whence (do we learn) that if even one sits and occupies himself in the Law, the Holy One, blessed is he, appoints him a reward? Because it is written, "Let him sit alone and keep silence, because he hath laid it upon him" [Lamentations 3:28].[1]

The other is the one attributed to Rabbi Halafta, portions of which have already been cited. This Rabbinical saying reads in full as follows:

> If ten men sit together and occupy themselves in the Law, the Divine Presence [the Shekinah] rests among them, for it is written, "God standeth in the congregation of God" [Psalm 82:1]. And whence (do we learn this) even of five? Because it is written, "And hath founded his group upon the earth" [Amos 9:6]. And whence even of three? Because it is written, "He judgeth among the judges" [Psalm 82:1].[2] And whence even of two? Because it is written, "Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another: and the Lord hearkened, and heard" [Malachi 3:16]. And whence even of one? Because it is written, "In every place where I record my name I will come unto thee and I will bless thee [Exodus 20:24].[3]

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[1] Pirqe Aboth 3:2 (Danby, op. cit., p. 450; underlining by the present writer).

[2] Reference has already been made to the Rabbinical tradition that the "judges" must be a minimum of three.

[3] Pirqe Aboth 3:6 (Danby, op. cit., pp. 450-51; underlining by the present writer).

A similar saying is also quoted by G. F. Moore as coming from Rabbi Isaac, a pupil of Johannan and a favorite homilist of the third century. It runs as follows:

> When do we learn that God is found in the synagogue (building)? Because it is said, "God standeth in the congregation of God" (Psalm 82:1). And whence that when ten are praying together the Presence is with them? Because it is said, "God standeth in the congregation of God" (ibid.). And whence that when three are sitting as judges the Presence is with them? Because it is written, "In the midst of the judges he will judge" (Psalm 82:1). And whence that when two are sitting and studying the Law the Presence is with them? Because it is written, "Then those who fear the Lord spoke to each other, and the Lord hearkened and heard" (Malachi 3:16). And whence that even one is sitting and studying the Law, the Presence is with him? Because it is written, "In every place where I cause mention to be made of my name, I will come unto thee and bless thee" (Exodus 20:21).[1]

It is remarkable that all these Rabbinical sayings actually point to the same thought: the Shekinah, which is a metonymy or a reverent equivalent for "God,"[2] will abide with the people whenever and wherever the Law is studied and observed, irrespective of the number of the people involved. The fact that the same substance is repeated so often in one form or another indicates the tremendous popularity which the teaching enjoyed among the devout Jews and the Jewish-Christians. The closeness, both in language and thought, between these sayings and the Oxyrhynchus Saying: "where one is all alone to himself, I am with you," or the Coptic Logion: "where there are two or one, I am with you," is quite evident.

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[1] Berakoth 6a, quoted in G. F. Moore, Judaism, I, p. 436 (underlining by the present writer).

[2] For further information on the term "Shekinah," see Moore, op. cit., pp. 419-20, 434-38.

Furthermore, there is much to be said also with regard to the similarity between the Ephrem passage and the Coptic Logion. Ephrem was born at Nisibis about 306. After that city had been occupied by the Persians in 363, he left the city, together with many other Christians, and finally settled at Edessa on Roman territory. "A brilliant exegete, controversialist, preacher and poet," as Altaner put it,[1] Ephrem thus had a definite connection with the Jewish-Christian community in Edessa which presumably had produced the "Ur-Thomas." Despite the difference in age between Ephrem and the "Ur-Thomas," it nevertheless comes as no surprise that a saying preserved by the former should display an obvious affinity with a logion contained in the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

This and other previous observations make it conclusive that the variants between the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5 and the Coptic Logion 30 are due, not to any particular doctrinal intention on the part of the Coptic editor, but probably to different recensions of the same original saying.

There is, however, a further question concerning the origin of the saying preserved in various forms as in Ephrem, P. Oxy. 1, and the Coptic Thomas. The most obvious explanation is to speak of it as a secondary saying based on the canonical saying attributed to Jesus in Matthew 18:20 (M): "where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

This Matthaean passage, however, is taken by prominent New

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[1] Altaner, op. cit., p. 401.

Testament scholars as not being genuine words of Jesus.[1] It probably reflects the post-resurrectional belief that Jesus can be with those who gather together in his name at any time and in any place. In view of this, therefore, it seems better to take the above-quoted passage in Matthew as a Christian adaptation of what had been conceived by the Jews, as illustrated in the aforementioned Rabbinical sayings. Thus the origin of the saying (including the Matthaean passage) should ultimately be traced back to the Jewish concept of the *Shekinah*, or the immediate presence of God Himself amongst His people.[2]

The foregoing discussions make it clear that the saying preserved in the Coptic Logion 30 and in the first half of the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5 in P. Oxy. 1, with all the variations between both versions, is nevetheless to be regarded as firmly rooted in the Jewish-Christian soil. Essentially, it is a saying whose purpose is to reaffirm the abiding presence of God (or Jesus) with the true believers, whether they be ten, five, three, two, or even one in number.

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[1] Note the reference to the "church" (ἐκκλησία) in Matt. 18:17 that stands in the same paragraph as the passage just quoted. Commenting on Matt. 18:15-20, A. H. McNeil, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew* (London: Macmillan, 1915), *ad loc.*, stated that the paragraph is "the most distinctly ecclesiastical passage in Matthew's Gospel"; cf. also F. W. Beare, *The Earliest Records of Jesus* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 151.

[2] It may be helpful to recall the statement made by G. F. Moore on the matter of the *Shekinah*. Referring to the above-quoted saying ascribed to R. Halafta, he wrote: "It [the light associated with the *Shekinah*] is, however, ordinarily perceived by faith, not by sight. All worship demands a *praesens numen*, and however men may entertain the idea of the omnipresence of God, they find it difficult to realize his specific presence in the particular place where they gather for religious service without some aid to faith

Admittedly, the saying has nothing to say by way of specifying who the "three," "two," or "one" are, or what kind of people they should be. However, it should be sufficiently clear from what has been said that those are the people who "speak the words of the Law among them," who "occupy themselves in the Law," or who "are gathered together" in the name of Jesus. In other words, what the saying is concerned about is not just any men, but the conscientious, hard-working believers, who try their best, reverently and earnestly, to bring about the kind of life worthy of the Torah or the name of Jesus.

Applied more specifically to man's every-day experiences, the saying seems to direct its attention to the meaning of the work in which he is engaged day after day. This seems to the present writer to be precisely what the second half of the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5 is intended to bring forth. In Fitzmyer's reconstruction and translation, this part of the Saying reads as follows:

27 ἔγει[ρ]ον τὸν λίθο(ν)
28 κἀκεῖ εὑρήσεις με,
29 σχίσον τὸ ξύλον, κἀγὼ
30 ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

Take up the stone and there you will find me;
split the wood and I am there.

(P. Oxy. 1, lines 27-30)

This Saying, as pointed out previously, has its parallel, not in the Coptic Logion 30 as might normally be expected in light of the Greek Saying, but in the second part of Logion 77, where it

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or imagination. This is the origin and meaning of the teaching that wherever ten men (the quorum of the synagogue) are met for prayer, there is the Presence" (Moore, op. cit., pp. 435-36).

is combined with another saying. Thus the Coptic Logion 77 reads as follows:

> Jesus said: I am the Light that is above them all, I am the All, the All came forth from Me and the All attained to Me. Cleave a (piece of) wood, I am there; lift up the stone and you will find Me there.
>
> Logion 77 (94.22-28)

Before taking up this logion as a whole, however, there is still much to be said about the second half of it. Discussing the Greek version of this famous saying: "Lift up the stone, etc.," before the discovery of its Coptic counterpart, Jeremias classified it in the category of what he called "Sayings of historical value." Those sayings, twenty-one in all, are considered by him as "perfectly compatible with the genuine teaching of our Lord," having "as high a claim to authenticity as the sayings recorded in our four Gospels."[1] He gave this high estimate, however, only to the second half of the Oxyrhynchus Saying (parallel to Logion 77b), rating it as "very primitive."[2] This judgment is based on his analysis of the language of the saying, presented in the following words:

> The synonymous *parallelismus membrorum*, the asyndeton, the entire absence of particles, the phrase ἐγείρειν τὸν λίθον, the twice repeated use of the imperative in place of a protasis with the apodosis added in parataxis, the indefinite use of the definite article--all this is typically Palestinian.[3]

Although the question of "genuineness" of the saying is not the main concern in the present study, Jeremias' judgment on its "primitive" character seems to provide a direction in which the correct meaning of the saying is to be sought.

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[1] Jeremias, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid*., p. 96.

[3] *Ibid*. For the phrase "Lift up the stone," he refers the reader to such Old Testament passages as Deut. 27:2, 4; Josh. 4:9, 20; 24:26.

It is notable that Jeremias definitely rejects the view that the saying refers to the omnipresence of Jesus as the exalted Christ. The idea of the ubiquity of Jesus in the cosmos, in the pantheistic, or even the "panchristic" sense, is totally unacceptable to him.[1] If that were the case, so argues Jeremias, the saying would have to be dated rather late, and should be regarded as a Gnostic invention. He thinks that such a conclusion can hardly be justifiable, on the grounds that:

> (1) "Panchristism" of this kind is completely unknown to primitive Christianity, and, above all, there are no other instances of it in Oxyr. Pap. 1; (2) The Gospel from which the saying was taken evidently did not interpret it in a pantheistic sense, as it uses it to explain the promise of the invisible presence of Christ with the lonely; (3) The language of the saying is remarkably primitive.[2]

Thus Jeremias, against the Gnostic interpretation, maintains that the meaning of the saying, originally, was "quite different and much more simple."[3] The clue to the right interpretation, according to his suggestion, should be found in the fact that the saying speaks of "two kinds of strenuous work, lifting stones and splitting wood."[4] Attention, therefore, should be directed to the contrast between this saying and the rather pessimistic words of Koheleth in the Old Testament: "Whoso heweth out stones shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood is endangered thereby" (Ecclesiastes 10:9).

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[1] Here Jeremias is arguing against Zahn, Reitzenstein, Resch, W. Bauer, A. Uckeley, Hennecke, Dibelius and Oepke.

[2] Jeremias, p. 97. The "Gnostic" interpretation of the saying has been rejected by Harnack, C. Taylor, White, Deissman, Leipoldt, et al.

[3] Jeremias, p. 97.

[4] Ibid. Doresse, however, refers to these two actions as suggesting the stone at Jesus' tomb and his cross, according to Grant-Freedman, p. 178. Such a view, however, is not convincing to Grant and Freedman or to the present writer.

This suggestion by Jeremias seems to the present writer quite illuminating. The scepticism of the "Preacher" would not let anything go without the curse of "vanity" (Ecclesiastes 1:2). Man's work--what is the use of it? "What profit hath man of all his labor wherein he laboreth under the sun?" asks the Preacher to himself. Furthermore, work is precarious. Dig a pit, and you will "fall into it"; make a hole in a wall, and a serpent will bite you!" (10:8). And so it goes with the Preacher. Move stones, and you will get hurt; cleave wood, and you will injure yourself (10:9). What is the meaning of hard work every day? His answer: "Vanity"; all is temporary and transitory; all is futile--even work itself!

The saying, both in the second half of the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5 and the Coptic Logion 77, says "No" to such an attitude toward life, particularly hard work thereof. Quite the contrary, labor is a blessing, so the saying appears to insist, because there, as much as anywhere else, the true believer is to be confronted by the abiding presence of the Lord, as it is promised: "Lo, I am with you always, to the close of the age" (Matthew 28:20).

The saying, then, should be taken as a bold reaffirmation of the Christian Shekinah experience, as diametrically opposed to the kind of persistent scepticism, such as in Koheleth, which seems present always somewhere in the mind of man in history.

By way of summing up the foregoing discussion, the following words of Jeremias may be cited:

> The two illustrations [lifting up the stone and cleaving the wood] are not chosen at random: they represent the most strenuous forms of labour. It is just this kind of work that may so easily seem futile. But No, says our logion, for the Christian even the hardest labour wears a lustre of hidden glory. He, the Lord, is everywhere, wherever his followers are carrying out their duty. The presence of Jesus transforms the daily round into divine service.[1]

It is important to note in this statement that the presence of Christ is acknowledged everywhere, "wherever his followers are carrying out their duty." This is not "pantheism," nor even "panchristism." Rather, it is the affirmation of the eternal presence of the exalted Christ with the true Christians, corresponding to the Jewish concept of the Shekinah (of Yahweh) in relation to the Law-abiding Jews.[2]

This conclusion, as it seems to the present writer, is entirely in harmony with what has previously been said of the first half of the Fifth Saying in P. Oxy. 1 (and the corresponding Coptic Logion 30): "Where there are three (persons), they are gods. And where one is all alone to himself (or, as in the Coptic: where there are two or one), I am with him."[3] Thus, both the first and the second half of the Greek Saying 5 should properly be interpreted against the Jewish background of the Shekinah, Yahweh's Presence with His people. For this reason, it may be concluded that these two sayings originally formed a single saying, as in P. Oxy. 1, Saying 5, rather than two sayings separated from one another, as in the Coptic Thomas, Logia 30 and 77.

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[1] Jeremias, p. 98.

[2] For a thoroughgoing Gnosticist interpretation regarding the logion: "Lift up the stone, etc.," as a "typically pantheistic statement," see, e.g., Gärtner, pp. 144-47.

[3] In the Coptic, the final word should be "with them," not "with him" (ⲛ̄ⲙⲙⲁϥ), since it must refer to "two or one." The Greek reading: "with him" (μετ' αὐτοῦ), is correct, however, since there is only "one" that is referred to by the personal pronoun. This also may be taken as an indication that the Coptic logion is secondary to the Greek.

This is where the present writer, despite his basic agreement with Jeremias on the matter of the interpretation of the second half of the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5, nevertheless finds it difficult to agree with him, for Jeremias insists that the Greek Saying is "not one logion, but a combination of two originally separate sayings."[1]

Attention should now be given to the Coptic Logion 77a, to which is attached the above-discussed saying: "Lift up the stone, etc." The first half of this logion reads as follows:

> Jesus said: I am the Light that is above them all, I am the All, the All came forth from Me and the All attained to Me.

The tone of this logion closely resembles that which is found in some of the canonical passages. For example, in John 8:12 Jesus is reported as saying: "I am the light of the world." The Prologue to the same Gospel in the New Testament contains the expression which comes close to the language of this logion, when it says: "All things were made by him [meaning the logos]" (John 1:3). A few Pauline passages also may be brought to attention in this connection, such as Romans 11:36: "For of him [God], and through him, and to him, are all things"; I Corinthians 8:6: "And one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things"; Colossians 1:16: "For by him Christ were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth . . . all things were created by him, and for him." In like manner, the author of the Letter to the Ephesians, speaking of God, wrote: "One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all" (Ephesians 4:6).

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[1] Jeremias, p. 95.

It is highly questionable whether the concept of "pantheism" or "panchristism" can be deduced from these passages. Yet it seems almost certain that they suggest the picture of Jesus as what might be called the "Cosmic Christ." To that extent it cannot be denied that the Coptic Logion 77a, compared with the New Testament passages just quoted, contains some elements that are susceptible of various interpretations, especially in the Gnostic-pantheistic direction.

This, however, does not mean that Logion 77a is a Gnostic invention. Gärtner interpreted it as indicating that "Jesus, having proceeded from the Father is of the world of Light, and that he is leader and 'Lord' over all the sparks of light which are imprisoned in enlightened men."[1] "The light," according to him, refers to "the revelation mediated through the Son, and to the particles of light in man."[2] In support of this contention of Jesus being "the Light" and "the All," he draws heavily on such Gnostic documents as the Gospel of Truth and Excerpta ex Theodoto, both Valentinian in origin and nature, the Acts of Philip (which calls Jesus "the holy light" or "the true light"), the Acts of Peter, the Apocryphon of John, and the Sophia Jesu Christi.[3] He then makes a general observation that in these instances "once more we can see how Gnostic or gnosticizing texts illustrate and clarify the meaning of expressions in the Gospel of Thomas."[1]

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[1] Gärtner, p. 144.

[2] Ibid., p. 145.

[3] Ibid., pp. 144-47.

Such an approach to Thomas as advanced by Gärtner, however, seems to the present writer methodologically wrong, because it already predetermines the nature of the logia to be investigated. Those "Gnostic or gnosticizing texts" referred to by him may point to a direction in which some of the elements in Thomas were developed in the course of time. Even so, it is extremely doubtful if the parallels and echoes indiscriminately collected from those texts can really enable the reader of the Gospel of Thomas to understand its logia as they stand. This criticism, it may be added, applies not only to Gärtner's interpretation of Logion 77a, but also to his entire work on the Coptic Thomas. In short, it is a question of the method of approach, or to put it in a different way, the question of the quality, not the quantity, of evidences on which to build a theory. Perhaps Grant and Greedman were wise in this respect in excluding from their considerations "later Gnostic or Manichaean texts in which the influence of Thomas is probably or certainly present."[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 147.

[2] Grant-Freedman, p. 117. It may be noted, however, that they found a parallel to Log. 77a in a passage from the Gnostic Gospel of Eve, which reads: "I stood upon a high mountain and saw a tall man, and another of short stature, and heard as it were a sound of thunder and went nearer in order to hear. Then he spoke to me and and said: I am thou and thou art I, and where thou art there am I, and I am sown in all things; and whence thou wilt, thou gatherest me, but when thou gatherest me, then gatherest thou thyself" (preserved in Epiphanius Panarion xxvi. 3). This translation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 241 (underlining by the present writer); cf. also Grant-Freedman, p. 178.

Coming back to Logion 77a, then, it should be said that there is not to be found any concrete sign of distinctly "Gnostic" elements. The gnosticizing translation of the Coptic ⲠⲦⲈⲢϤ (literally, "the all," "das All," "le tout") as "the All," as if it were to be taken as a special Gnostic technical term, is indeed unfortunate and unfounded, as already pointed out in similar instances of unwarranted capitalization frequently found in the "official" edition of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. Instead, this Coptic word should be rendered simply by "everything" or "all things," in the same sense as the Greek phrase: τὰ πάντα, which occurs in those New Testament passages that were quoted earlier.

At the same time, it should be admitted that the first part of the logion does speak of Jesus, not only as the source of all things in the cosmos, but also as the being which, like the light shining through darkness, permeates through all the creation. As has been discussed previously, however, it is misleading to label this concept of Jesus as "Gnostic." Rather, it should be understood as part of the early Christian teaching, as attested by the canonical passages quoted earlier. In any event, it is not to be denied that Logion 77a carries with it heterogeneous elements, in comparison with Logion 77b: "Cleave a (piece of) wood, etc."

The question to be asked now is: What motif could possibly have been behind Logion 77 as a whole? This question seems inevitable because, as pointed out above, two elements differing in nature from one another are evidently joined together here to form a single logion. Since there is concrete evidence in P. Oxy. 1, Saying 5, that what is now Logion 77b was originally a part of

Logion 30 (=the second half of that Greek Saying), the question is: Why did the Coptic editor divide a saying into two parts and attach the second part to another logion of apparently different nature?

Wilson has provided his suggestion in what he thinks "the safest conclusion." He stated that the Coptic Logion 77 as a whole is to be considered as "a Gnostic construction," yet at the same time recognizing the possibility that "it may incorporate genuinely primitive elements."[1] The foregoing discussions, however, make it sufficiently clear that it is unwarranted to speak of Logion 77 as a "Gnostic" construction. Furthermore, Wilson does not give his own view as to why such a fusion of two heterogeneous elements ever took place in Logion 77, although his answer may be implied by his reference to Fitzmyer's observation that "this [logion] may be a clear case in which the Coptic offers us a different redaction."[2]

So far as can be judged under the present circumstances, Fitzmyer's remark just quoted seems to the present writer to point in the right direction. In all likelihood, the Coptic scribe misunderstood the meaning of the saying: "Lift up the stone, etc.," in the sense of Christ's all-permeating presence in the creation. Knowing at the same time that the sayings-collection on which he was working contained another saying: "I am the light, etc.," which carried precisely that meaning, he presumably thought it better to detach it from the original context and placed it immediately after that logion (Logion 77a). Probably in this way, the present Coptic Logion 77 was brought into existence. Inasmuch as there is no positive proof that already in the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" those two sayings ("Lift up the stone, etc." and "I am the light, etc.") stood separately in two different contexts,it seems best to assume that it was the Coptic editor who applied the "scissors and paste" method to the original material in Greek, which he was translating into Coptic. In the process of such an operation, it may be mentioned in passing, the order of two items in the detached saying, i.e. "stone" and "wood," somehow got reversed. This, however, cannot be regarded as an intentional alteration made by the Coptic scribe, for what kind of particular theology could possibly be inferred from such a manipulation?

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[1] Wilson, p. 107.

[2] _Ibid_., p. 106; Fitzmyer, p. 540.

Thus it should be concluded that the Coptic Logion 77, compared with Logion 30 in the Coptic and also the Oxyrhynchus Saying 5 in P. Oxy. 1, presents an important case in which the Coptic editor in all probability was acting, not only as a copyist-translator, but also as an interpreter-redactor, who edited the original document according to his own ideas. It needs to be noted, however, that the Coptic editor was not always consistent in his method and principles. Even so, there is nothing to suggest that, so far as the present case is concerned, he was a "Gnostic." On the contrary, there are many indications, as shown in the preceding pages, that he was rather acting as a follower of the Pauline-Johannine line of development in early Christian thought.

Leaving Logion 30 and the related Logion 77, the next three logia in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, i.e. Logia 31, 32 and 33, do not pose any serious problems regarding the matter of the relation between the Coptic Thomas and the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments, particularly No. 1. Moreover, two of them, Logia 32 and 33, have already been dealt with in Chapter VI in connection with the meaning of the term "hidden." No special effort, therefore, will be made at this point to discuss these logia and their parallels in P. Oxy. 1.

The same is true with the two Coptic Logia 36 and 37, which are paralleled in P. Oxy. 655. These logia also are not particularly significant for the present purpose, and therefore will be given no treatment here. Another Coptic Logion 39 has been dealt with previously in Chapter VI. These three logia, as has been pointed out, have their parallels in P. Oxy. 655. It is likely that Logion 38 is also parallel to the lost portion of the same Papyrus Fragment. The same conjecture may apply to Logion 40 as well. Despite all these possibilities, the extremely fragmentary state of that part of the papyrus makes it practically hopeless to make any meaningful comparison between the Greek and the Coptic.

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The present chapter on the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" is now to be brought to a conclusion. Admittedly, the coverage of the logia in this chapter has not been complete, nor the discussions on those that were covered exhaustive. Yet, it is the belief of the present writer that enough has been said in the foregoing pages to substantiate the following observations, most of which have been pointed out from time to time during the course of discussions.

First, it needs to be repeated that the term "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" is used to designate a group of Greek copies or versions of the original sayings-collection, i.e. the "Ur-Thomas." It is a collective term to be applied equally to the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments 654, 1 and 655. It is important also to remember that the designation "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" is intended to include the lost Greek copies and versions of the "Ur-Thomas" that are presumed to have existed in Egypt along with those that have in part been preserved as P. Oxy. 654, 1 and 655. It is assumed that one of those presumed but not as yet discovered Greek copies or versions likely became the immediate basis of the present Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_.

Secondly, so far as can be judged from the extant papyrus fragments, i.e. P. Oxy. 654, 1 and 655, the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" appears to show no sign of radical departure, in thought or language, from the general Jewish-Christian atmosphere out of which the "Ur-Thomas" is believed to have been born. None of the Sayings contained in these fragments can be said to bear a mark of that peculiar religious system of the second and third centuries known as "Gnosticism." The judgment to that effect, made some sixty years ago by the original editors of the Oxyrhynchus Fragments, Grenfell and Hunt, still carries much weight even today. A close examination of all the Oxyrhynchus Sayings has convinced the present writer that there is in them nothing contradictory to early Jewish-Christian traditions, i.e. nothing that oversteps the bounds of the canonical New Testament thoughts.

Thirdly, this conclusion, that the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" is not to be considered as a "Gnostic" document, also provides some clue to the insight as to the nature of its readers in Egypt. They were probably the ones who found this non-Gnostic collection of Jesus' sayings perfectly acceptable. Of course it cannot be denied that the document contained some elements that were likely to invite future inclination toward a less orthodox direction. So far as can be surmised from the existing remains of the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas," however, such a development probably arose neither from the people nor from the period of time (at least the early part of it) immediately associated with the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas."

Fourthly, the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" was probably in use among the Egyptian Christians for one to two hundred years. This estimate seems fairly conclusive for the following reasons. The earlier arrival of the "Ur-Thomas" into Egypt may be assumed to have taken place about the middle of the second century, shortly after the "Ur-Thomas" had been brought into existence in Edessa. The Coptic language, moreover, did not become the people's vernacular until the middle of the third or even of the fourth century.[1] To illustrate this, it may be recalled that portions of the New Testament are said to have been rendered into the Sahidic about the beginning of the third century. Also, it was probably not until almost a century later that most of the books of the Bible were translated into this dialect of the Coptic language.[2] This matches the date of the writing of the present Coptic manuscript of the Gospel of Thomas which generally is set about A.D. 400. Thus it is safe to assume that the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" was in use from about A.D. 150 to 250 or 350. This relatively long period of time is precisely what was needed in order for the sufficient number of copies of the Gospel of Thomas to be produced so that a presumably great demand for them could be met.

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[1] Cf. the previous discussions on the Coptic language in Chap. I.

[2] The Bohairic version is considered as much later in date (6th cent. and after). For the Coptic versions of the Bible, see, among others, B. M. Metzger's article in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. IV (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), pp. 755-56.

Fifthly, a comparative study of the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus Fragments with the Coptic Gospel of Thomas indicates that the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" probably contained approximately the same number of sayings as in the present Coptic Thomas. The situation, then, is similar to that of the "Ur-Thomas," which, as shown in the previous chapter, is believed to have covered a large part of the Coptic Thomas. The present study has made it clear that there is not a single saying in the Oxyrhynchus Fragments which, theologically or linguistically, cannot be assigned to the "Ur-Thomas" on the one hand, and which basically is not paralleled in the Coptic Thomas on the other.

Of course, the fragmentary state of the Oxyrhynchus manuscripts naturally prohibits the investigator from considering as complete the results of his comparative study such as has been carried on in this chapter. Yet, it seems almost certain that the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas," like the "Ur-Thomas," contained most of the logia that are found in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

This is, however, not to be taken to suggest that the actual contents of the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" and those of the Coptic Thomas were exactly identical. In fact, the foregoing pages have revealed that in some cases a deliberate effort evidently was made by the Coptic editor to revise a given saying so that it might become more suitable to his particular ideas, even though his ideas were not specifically "Gnostic."

These points, however, properly belong to the discussions in the next chapter, where the "Coptic Thomas" will be the main subject.

CHAPTER VIII

THE "COPTIC THOMAS"

In the preceding two chapters, it was discussed that sometime during the first half of the second century the Jewish-Christian community in Edessa brought into existence a collection of Jesus' sayings under the title of the "Gospel of Thomas." For absence of any better name, this earliest form of the document in its literary history has been referred to in this dissertation as the "Ur-Thomas." The "Ur-Thomas" thus represents the first stage in the development of the _Gospel of Thomas_ as a literary work (Chapter VI). Shortly after its birth in Edessa, the Gospel reached Egypt. There, evidently, it was warmly accepted, and as a result a considerable number of its copies or versions were produced and circulated. As a comprehensive designation covering those Greek copies and versions, part of which has been preserved as P. Oxy. 654, 1 and 655, the term "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" has been adopted in this dissertation. That was the second stage in the course of literary development of the _Gospel of Thomas_ (Chapter VII).

One of those copies or versions of the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" eventually became translated into Coptic, and has survived down to the present time. This is the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_ unearthed near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt some twenty years ago. Presumably, the rise of Coptic versions constituted the third and final stage in the literary history of the Gospel of Thomas. The present chapter is intended to deal specifically with this last stage, which is represented in this dissertation by the term "Coptic Thomas."

As in the case of the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" previously discussed, the term "Coptic Thomas" also is used as a collective title, designed to cover all the copies and versions of the Gospel of Thomas written in Coptic. At present, the only known document that belongs to this group is the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas. However, there is good reason to believe that there was once in existence a "Manichaean Gospel of Thomas," in addition to the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas.

It may be recalled that in the previous Chapter IV mention was made of a few patristic allusions to a "Gospel of Thomas." More specifically, beginning with Cyril of Jerusalem, a series of Greek witnesses, such as Peter of Sicily, Pseudo-Leontius of Byzantium, and Timothy of Constantinople, included a "Gospel of Thomas" among the writings used by the Manichaeans. Some of these witnesses, notably Cyril and his copyists, even stated that the said Gospel had been composed by "one of the three wicked disciples of Manes" (Cyril's words), whose name also happened to be "Thomas."

Furthermore, it has been noted that there are a certain number of parallels and echoes between the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas and Manichaean writings.[1] Similarities between them are so considerable that the investigator is almost compelled to admit the possibility that there was some kind of relationship between them. Yet, differences between them in points of detail are also remarkable so that no easy answer to the question of just what that relationship was seems possible. In other words, the "Gospel of Thomas" spoken of by Cyril and his followers as a "Manichaean" document cannot be considered as identical with the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas, and yet at the same time the probable existence of some connection between these two Gospels under the name of Thomas cannot be denied completely.

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[1] Puech's list of 18 logia, "which are found, in whole or in part, in traces or in echoes, scattered here and there in the works of the Fathers, in Manichaean writings, and in the remains of Gnostic or heretical literature," may be of some help at this point; cf. Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 299-303. As may well be expected, Gärtner's book on "The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas" is full of Manichaean references.

Thus it now begins to appear likely that the "Gospel of Thomas" referred to by those patristic witnesses after Cyril may well have been what might properly be called a "Manichaean Thomas," in distinction from the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas, both being the same Gospel but two different versions.

Under such circumstances, it would be a stroke of good fortune if one could come to speak of this "Manichaean Thomas" with more confidence. At any rate, the theory of a supposed "Manichaean" Gospel of Thomas deserves more attention. At present, however, the scarcity of material does not permit the investigator to proceed further with trying to establish such a theory regarding the possible existence of a "Gospel of Thomas" specifically associated with the Manichaean sect, as distinct from the present Coptic Thomas. Even so, allowance must be made for such a document which may properly be assigned to the Manichaean circle. The reason for adopting the collective term "Coptic Thomas" in this dissertation is to make enough room, first of all, for the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas as it now stands, and then for any copies or versions, that hopefully may come to light some day, of the Gospel of Thomas in Coptic (such as a "Manichaean Thomas"), which likely have stood side by side with the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas at one point or another in the course of literary development of the Gospel of Thomas.

One of the best ways to investigate the basic nature of the "Coptic Thomas," at present, would be to write a detailed critical commentary on the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas.[1] Such a task, important and indispensable as it no doubt is, does not fall within the scope of this dissertation. The present chapter, therefore, will be devoted to a detailed study of only certain selected logia from the Coptic Thomas.

These logia may be divided into two groups. One group consists of those logia which appear to be too significant to be left untouched in the present study and yet have not been dealt with in the previous chapters. These logia are not necessarily unique to the Coptic version of the Gospel of Thomas. It may well be that they had already been contained in the "Ur-Thomas" and the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas." In any event, these logia offer substantial support for the conclusions already reached in the preceding chapters, especially with regard to the Jewish-Christian character of the Gospel of Thomas.

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[1] According to the announcement recorded in the "Preliminary Remarks" of the "official" edition of the text of the Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas (1959), there will soon be published by the same international team of scholars "a critical, scholarly edition of The Gospel according to Thomas, which will include a long introduction devoted to the various problems--philological, historical and exegetical--which have been raised by the document, as well as the Coptic text of the writing, a translation in German, French or English, a commentary consisting of detailed notes, and an index of Coptic and Greek terms" (p. v). However, such has not been forthcoming.

The other group is made up of several logia that are believed by the present writer to be unique to the "Coptic Thomas," that is to say, logia that probably were not originally contained in the "Ur-Thomas" or the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas." More specifically, this group includes one logion in which Salome plays a prominent role (Logion 61), another logion in which the peculiar teaching of what might be called "male monopoly" is presented (Logion 114), and finally three logia in which the word "solitary" occurs (Logia 16, 49 and 75).

* * *

The discussion on the logia belonging to the first group mentioned above begins with Logion 13. As will be seen in the following translation, this logion gives the apostle Thomas a highly prominent place among the disciples of Jesus, in this case particularly over Simon Peter and Matthew. The logion reads in full as follows:

> Jesus said to His disciples: Make a comparison to Me and tell Me whom I am like. Simon Peter said to Him: Thou art like a righteous angel. Matthew said to Him: Thou art like a wise man of understanding. Thomas said to Him: Master, my mouth will not at all be capable of saying whom Thou art like. Jesus said: I am not thy Master, because thou hast drunk, thou hast become drunk from the bubbling spring which I have measured out. And He took him, He withdrew, He spoke three words to him. Now when Thomas came to his companions, they asked him: What did Jesus say to thee? Thomas said to them: If I tell you one of the words which He said to me, you will take up stones and throw at me; and fire will come from the stones and burn you up.
>
> Logion 13 (82.30-83.14)

The first half of this logion has been treated in Chapter VI in connection with two other logia, i.e. Logia 28 and 108. In this chapter, attention will be focused on the figure of Thomas and also on the second half of the logion.

Obviously, the apostle Thomas himself was not the author of the Gospel of Thomas, and therefore is not to be held responsible for the document. All that can be said is that it carries his name and evidently regards him "as the most enlightened and advanced of the disciples."[1] Whoever its actual author may have been, he simply followed the wide-spread practice in ancient times and attributed his work to Thomas in order to give it more authority.

The fact that the name of the apostle Thomas was attached to this document, regardless of who the actual author was, seems in itself an indication that the document ought to be associated with the city of Edessa, because, as pointed out in Chapter III, it was in that city that the apostle Thomas continued to be the object of special devotion, long after his own time.

The theory of the Edessene origin of the Gospel of Thomas finds further support in that the latter part of Logion 13 is closely parallel to a passage in the Greek version of the Acts of Thomas, which reads as follows:

> Thou art he that hast shown unto us many mysteries; thou didst call me apart from all my fellows and spakest unto me three words wherewith I am inflamed, and am not able to speak them unto others.[2]

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[1] Till, op. cit., p. 452.

[2] Acts of Thomas 47. This translation is taken from Klijn, The Acts of Thomas, p. 240; cf. also Gärtner, p. 119.

It is generally agreed that the Acts of Thomas was composed in Edessa toward the beginning or in the first half of the third century.[1] If so, the similarities between the two writings bearing the name of Thomas make it all the more probable that the Gospel of Thomas also was composed in Edessa.

The view that the Gospel of Thomas probably originated in Jewish-Christian circles in the region of Edessa also seems to receive further reinforcement from the references, in the second half of Logion 13, to such items as "stoning," "fire," and "three words." The "stoning" as a penalty, especially for the sins of blasphemy, has been well known since the time of the ancient Hebrews.[2] The "fire" consuming one's adversaries also is a standing phenomenon in the Old Testament.[3]

The "three words" which Jesus is said to have spoken to Thomas in secret, according to Logion 13b, pose some problem. Various views have been held by scholars regarding just what those words were. Grant and Freedman, for instance, maintain that "the words are probably the secret words of the Naassenes: Caulacau, Saulasau, Zeesar."[4] Then they go on to say:

> According to the Basilidians, Jesus "descended in the name of Caulacau" (Irenaeus, Adv. haer. i. 24. 6). It is his secret Gnostic name which he is revealing to Thomas.[5]

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[1] So Puech, in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 287; cf. also G. Bornkamm's article in Hennecke-Schneemelcher II, pp. 297-308.

[2] Cf. Lev. 20:2, 27; 24:16; Num. 15:35, 36; Deut. 21:21; Acts 7:58, 59.

[3] Cf. Lev. 10:2; Num. 16:35; Judg. 6:21; Luke 9:54.

[4] Grant-Freedman, p. 134.

[5] Ibid.

The same scholars, following Puech, also suggest that the words could be "the names 'the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit'."[1]

Gärtner, with a wealth of Gnostic materials on hand as usual, thinks that the "three words" in Logion 13b have to do with "the most secret of all secrets, connected with the nature of Jesus."[2] That secret, according to him, is often linked with the name of Jesus, which cannot be uttered indiscriminately.[3] The Savior's name is the hidden, unspeakable mystery, which should not be disclosed to the unworthy. Thus Gärtner's assumption is simple and clear, that "in the *Gospel of Thomas* we are dealing with a common Gnostic tradition."[4] Particularly suggestive in this connection, according to Gärtner as well as Puech, is a passage in the *Pistis Sophia*, in which Jesus is reported as having spoken "three words" in quite an enigmatic way. It reads as follows:

> And Jesus cried out, turning towards the four corners of the world with his disciples, who were all clothed in linen garments, and said: ϊαω, ϊαω, ϊαω. This is its interpretation: Iota, since the All is gone forth--Alpha, since it will turn back again--Omega, since the perfection of all perfections will take place.[5]

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 133.

[2] Gärtner, p. 122.

[3] Gärtner also refers to the following passages: *Martyrdom of Matthew* 15; *Gospel of Truth* 38. 6ff.; 39. 4f.; *Gospel of Philip* 102. 5ff.; *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 26. 1.

[4] Gärtner, p. 124.

[5] *Pistis Sophia* 136; this translation is taken from Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 259; cf. also Gärtner, p. 123. Apart from the interpretation of ϊαω provided by the *Pistis Sophia* itself, it also seems possible that the word stands for Ἰησοῦς ἄλφα ὦ μέγα (Jesus-Alpha-Omega; cf. Rev. 1:8; 21:6; 22:13). The present writer owes this suggestion to Dr. Rolland E. Wolfe, of Western Reserve University.

It is apparent that Gärtner interprets Logion 13b in the same Gnostic context as presented by the Pistis Sophia. In addition, he directs his attention to a passage in the Manichaean Kephalaia, which reads as follows:

> For these three words are the measure of all wisdom. All that has happened and all that is to happen is written in them. . . . The scribe who revealed these three great words is the true scribe. Furthermore, the teacher who teaches and preaches from these three words is the true teacher. Behold I, I also, have revealed these three great words and given them to you. . . .[1]

As distinct from the Gnosticist interpretation, such as presented by Gärtner, Grant and Freedman, there are other possibilities that are worth noting. Wilson suggests that the "three words" were "evidently blasphemous to Jewish ears."[2] He does not say precisely what those three words were. Yet, whatever they actually were, it is not difficult to see from where the motif of the three secret words originated.

The pattern of thinking in Logion 13b, it seems to the present writer, is to find its prototype in the Hebrew speculation relative to the name of God. The specific reference here is the Elohist's account of God revealing His own name to His people through Moses. God's name thus ostensibly revealed was: "I AM THAT I AM." In Hebrew, this sentence consists of three words:

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[1] Manichaean Kephalaia 5. 26ff. This translation is taken from Gärtner, p. 124. Apparently, what those "three words" were is not explained in this passage. Incidentally, Gärtner is perhaps correct here in regarding it as "most probable" that "this tradition about 'the three words' was taken over from the Gospel of Thomas, and then won acceptance in the Manichaean scriptures--a way followed by several other traditions from the same gospel" (Gärtner, ibid.)

[2] Wilson, p. 112.

אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה.[1]

Obviously, these three words were not the ones which Jesus spoke to Thomas in Logion 13b. Yet, this device of revealing the name of God (or of a being comparable to God) in "three words" may well have been in the background of the logion in point.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the tradition of "three words" that are highly secret evidently continued to live on in the mind of the Syrian Christians for many more years. Commenting on the above-quoted passage from the Acts of Thomas, Klijn stated that "the three words are obviously those spoken at Baptism," quoting from Ephrem Syrus the following sentence: "Into the believers are entering the three names which were never discussed, never comprehended."[2]

As Wilson admits, "about the three words we can only speculate."[3] What seems to the present writer almost certain is that the investigation of this logion, including the question about the "three words," should be carried on in a direction pointing to the Jewish-Christian milieu, rather than the Gnostic or Manichaean traditions.[4]

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[1] Exod. 3:14.

[2] Ephrem de Fide 48. 1: "In den Gläubigen sind eingezeichnet die drei Namen, die niemals erörtert, niemals erfasst wurden"; quoted by Klijn, op. cit., p. 240, from E. Beck (ed.), Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Fide (Louvain, 1955), pp. 129, 152.

[3] Wilson, p. 112.

[4] It is interesting to note that Gärtner also referred to Exod. 3:14, but dismissed the significance of it by stating that "we must reckon with the fact that the logion [13b], as it now stands and in the context in which it is now placed, has been coloured by Gnostic interpretation" (Gärtner, p. 123).

Thus Logion 13, it should be noted, is designed to direct the reader's attention not so much to the secret nature of the "three words" themselves as to the pre-eminence and authority thereby attributed to Thomas. The logion seems to provide one of the best illustrations of the Thomas tradition that was current among the Jewish-Christians dwelling in Edessa during the early part of the second century. According to this explanation the *meaning* of the "three words" is not particularly important for the present discussion.

Attention may next be given to Logion 42, the shortest of all the logia contained in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*. In the language of the "official" translation, it reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Become passers-by.
>
> Logion 42 (88.19)

This logion consists of only two words in Coptic: ϣⲱⲡⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲣ̄ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ, apart from the stereotyped introductory formula: "Jesus said" (ⲡⲉϫⲉ ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ϫⲉ). Despite its brevity, however, the logion poses some problems. At present, there are two distinct ways of translating it, depending on how one interprets the Coptic word ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ (which is a Greek loan word from παράγειν).

In agreement with the scholars responsible for the "official" translation, in which the word just mentioned is understood to mean "to pass by," are Jean Doresse ("You must be as passers-by!"),[1] R. McL. Wilson (exactly same as the "official" translation),[2]

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[1] Doresse, p. 362.

[2] Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 515.

Hans Quecke ("Werdet Vorübergehende!"),[1] Ernst Haenchen (same as Quecke),[2] Johannes Leipoldt ("Werdet, indem ihr vorübergeht"),[3] Johannes B. Bauer (same as Leipoldt),[4] and Rodolphe Kasser ("Soyez passants").[5]

On the other hand, the same word is taken to mean "to pass away" by others, such as William R. Schoedel ("Come into being as you pass away"),[6] Gärtner ("Become, by passing away"),[7] and the New Testament Seminar at Princeton Theological Seminary ("Come into being by your passing away"),[8] though the last-mentioned group makes a note of the possibility that the logion literally can be translated: "Be passers-by."

Grant and Freedman, following Schoedel's translation, commented on this logion simply by saying that "presumably the saying has much the same meaning as Paul's words (II Corinthians 4:16):

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[1] Quecke in W. C. van Unnik, Evangelien aus dem Nilsand, p. 166.

[2] Haenchen, p. 22.

[3] Leipoldt in Leipoldt and H.-Martin Schenke, Koptisch-gnostische Schriften aus den Papyrus-Codices von Nag-Hamadi (Hamburg: Herbert Reich, 1960), p. 17.

[4] J. B. Bauer, "Echte Jesusworte?" in W. C. van Unnik, op. cit., p. 111.

[5] Kasser, p. 71.

[6] Schoedel in Grant-Freedman, p. 155.

[7] Gärtner, p. 243. According to Gärtner, p. 243, n. 4, the Danish scholar, S. Giversen, also interprets the logion in the same way in his work: Thomasevangeliet (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 84.

[8] A mimeographed English translation prepared by the New Testament Seminar at the Princeton Theological Seminary under the title: "The Coptic Gospel of Thomas: A Gnostic Source of Unknown Sayings of Jesus from Chenoboskion," copyright Princeton Theological Seminary (Princeton, N. J., May, 1959), p. 4.

'If our outer man is perishing, our inner man is renewed day by day'."[1]

Gärtner, as noted above, thinks it "most reasonable to settle for this meaning--'to pass away'--in Logion 42."[2] Behind this expression, according to him, may lie "a concept related to the Johannine idea that death leads to life."[3] He sees in the passage about a grain of wheat which "falls into the earth and dies" (John 12:24) the idea of a "passing away" in the sense of physical death. Moreover, the same idea is traced by Gärtner in the following passage from the Pseudo-Clementine literature: "It is necessary that the condition of this world pass away, that the sublimer condition of the heavenly kingdom may shine forth."[4] Interpreted only in this way, so it seems to Gärtner, the logion under discussion becomes meaningful, since it presumably conveys to the reader "the call to become, and die in the process."[5] In any event, Gärtner is firmly convinced that the logion "clearly expresses scorn for the world."[6]

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 155. This Pauline passage, however, has been rejected by Haenchen, who takes the same interpretation of the logion as the "official" edition. He stated: "Mit 2 Kor 4. 16 (so Grant . . .) hat dies Wort [i.e. Log. 42] nichts zu tun" (Haenchen, p. 50, n. 48).

[2] Gärtner, p. 244. [3] Ibid.

[4] Recognitions iii. 28 (trans. Gärtner, p. 244).

[5] Gärtner, p. 245. He also refers to the Acts of John 76, and Valentinus' Fragment 4, preserved in Clement of Alexandria Stromateis iv. 89. 1ff.

[6] Gärtner, p. 243. Besides Log. 42, he deals with the following logia as expressive of "the negative attitude to the world": Log. 22, 27, 37, 48, 68, 69a, 78, 79, 81, 106, 110 and 114 (ibid. pp. 239-57).

Gärtner does not mention the Pauline passage (II Corinthians 4:16), to which Grant and Greedman refer in their commentary on Logion 42, as pointed out above. However, he finds support for his brand of interpretation of the logion in another passage of Paul in the First Letter to the Corinthians, where the apostle speaks about "the form of this world [which] is passing away (παράγειν)" (I Corinthians 7:31b). Gärtner also thinks that the verb is used in the same sense in I John 2:8 and 17.[1]

There are, however, instances in the New Testament in which the word παράγειν is used in the sense of "passing by," as in John 9:1: "As he passed by, he saw a man blind from his birth," or Mark 15:21: "And they compelled a passer-by, Simon of Cyrene."[2]

Of these two meanings of the word παράγειν, Gärtner rejects the latter translation, "pass by," believing that it "does not fit at all well into the context" of Logion 42, and instead prefers "pass away" because for him it "makes good sense."[3] He finds further support for his position in another logion of the Coptic Thomas, Logion 11a, where the same verb, ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ, occurs twice, presumably in the sense of "pass away" or "perish." This logion reads as follows:

> Jesus said: This heaven shall pass away (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ) and the one above it shall pass away (ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ), and the dead are not alive and the living shall not die. . . .
>
> Logion 11a (82.16-19)

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[1] Gärtner, p. 244, n. 1. The basic meaning of παράγειν, according to a lexicographer, is "to go away, depart," and only metaphorically, "to pass away"; see Abbott-Smith, A MManual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921; repr. 1948), p. 338.

[2] Cf. also Matt. 9:9, 27; 20:30; Mark 2:14; etc.

[3] Gärtner, p. 244.

Use of the same word, ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ, in two separate logia (i.e. Logia 42 and 11a), however, does not necessarily mean that its meaning in them must also be identical. As a matter of fact, in the canonical passage that roughly corresponds to Logion 11, the verb for "pass away" is παρέρχεσθαι, not παράγειν.[1] If Logion 11a speaks of the heavens which will "pass away" (presumably meaning "perish"), Logion 42 can still talk about the people who "pass by," even though the same word (in the Coptic Thomas it is a Greek loan word!) is used in both logia. In short, there seems nothing to prevent the word ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲅⲉ or παράγειν from being interpreted in the meaning "pass by."

The Coptic text of Logion 42, as Gärtner himself admits, can be translated either "Become passers-by" or "Become, by passing away." One of the reasons why he rejects the former is that "it is not easy to find other texts to serve as illustration of the meaning of this expression [i.e. 'pass by']."[2] This contention, however, is difficult to maintain, on account of a considerable number of materials that may be called on for further support of the reading: "Become passers-by." The most remarkable of these, perhaps, is the famous apraphon from India. In the words of Jeremias, it reads as follows:

> Jesus, on whom be peace, has said: This world is a bridge. Pass over it. But build not your dwelling there.[3]

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[1] Mark 13:31 (=Matt. 24:35; Luke 21:33).

[2] Gärtner, p. 243.

[3] Jeremias, p. 99; cf. Wilson, p. 104. In German, as provided by Leipoldt, p. 17, n. 2, and J. B. Bauer, p. 111, the agraphon reads: "Diese Welt ist eine Brücke; geh hinüber, aber bau nicht deine Wohnung dort."

As Jeremias has related, this saying is found in an Arabic inscription on the eastern side of the southern gateway of the great Mosque that stands in the ruins of a city known as Fatehpur-Sikri, south of Delhi, in India. The city was built by Akbar the Great Mogul (1542-1605), in commemoration of his victories (hence the name "Fatehpur," meaning "City of Victory"). The inscription itself is believed to date back to 1601, when Akbar victoriously returned to his capital city.

The existence in the Muslim world of one of Jesus' sayings, so remarkable as this one, comes however as no surprise to Jeremias or to the present writer. In favor of the ancient character of this agraphon, Jeremias expresses the opinion that the remoteness of its provenance "need not rule out the possibility that it comes from a primitive tradition."[1] All this is what can be expected, "when one remembers that for Islam Jesus is the greatest prophet after Mohammed," and also since "we know that some Portuguese Jesuit missionaries had been in residence at the court of Akbar since 1579."[2]

Significantly, a comparison of this Arabic saying with a Rabbinic saying in the Mishnah which follows seems to confirm the primitive character of the former. In the Pirqe Aboth, there is a saying attributed to Rabbi Jacob ben Korshai, the teacher of the celebrated Rabbi Judah the Patriarch. In Danby's translation, it reads as follows:

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[1] Jeremias, p. 99.

[2] Ibid.

> R. Jacob said: This world is like a vestibule before the world to come: prepare thyself in the vestibule that thou mayest enter into the banqueting hall.[1]

As observed by Jeremias, this Rabbinic saying, though in a different metaphor, expresses "the same idea with the same stylistic structure" as in the Akbar agraphon from India.[2] The meaning in both cases (Rabbinic and Arabic) seems sufficiently clear: "a warning not to forget the transitoriness of this earthly life through which we pass but once."[3]

Furthermore, the idea of this world being likened to a "bridge" in the Arabic agraphon quoted above seems to find its parallel, at least in part, in the medieval writing known as the Disciplina Clericalis. Its author, Petrus Alfonsi, had been known as Rabbi Moise Sephardi until he was baptized in 1106. J. B. Bauer quoted a part of the passage from this Latin document. It reads: "Saeculum est quasi transitus . . . saeculum est quasi pons . . . saeculum est quasi pons instabilis"[4] ("The world is like a passing over . . . the world is like a bridge . . . the world is like an unstable bridge"). Because of its lateness in age, this Latin passage would not prove anything in the way of establishing the primitive character of the Muslim saying. Yet it seems to point to the tremendous popularity that was accorded to this concept regarding the transitoriness of this world, through which man must go, as he is supposed to cross a bridge without stopping half-way on it.[1]

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[1] Pirqe Aboth 4:16 (Danby, op. cit., p. 454).

[2] Jeremias, p. 99.

[3] Jeremias in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 90.

[4] Petrus Alfonsi, Disciplina Clericalis, ed. A. Hilka and W. Söderhjelm (Heidelberg, 1911), p. 45. This passage as a parallel to the Arabic agraphon was first brought to the attention of the scholarly world by H. Sahlin, "'Die Welt ist eine Brücke,' usw.," Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XLVII (1956), pp. 286-87; cf. Jeremias, p. 102. J. B. Bauer, in van Unnik, Evangelien aus dem Nilsand, p. 111, translates this Latin passage into German: "Die Welt ist gleichsam ein Vorübergehen . . . die Welt ist gleichsam eine Brücke . . . die Welt ist gleichsam eine unbeständige Brücke."

It is interesting to note further in this Latin passage just quoted that its purpose appears to be to urge people to get over this world, rather than to predict what ultimately will happen to the world, which, certainly, is like "an unstable bridge." In this connection, it is suggestive to see that Bauer refers to such canonical passages, already used by Gärtner in support of his exegesis of the word ⲠⲀⲢⲀⲄⲈ, as I John 2:17 and I Corinthians 7:31, where the usual translation of παράγειν is "pass away." Evidently, Bauer is for the most part in favor of interpreting this Greek verb as "pass by," rather than "pass away" as in the usual rendering.

Because of his position, such as just pointed out, Bauer is also able to find in a Mandaean saying a significant parallel to the basic idea of transitoriness as expressed in the "world-bridge" association. He does not specify his source, but in his words, this Mandaean passage reads as follows: "Liebe nicht Gold und Silber und den Besitz dieser Welt. Denn diese Welt vergeht und ihr Besitz geht verloren" ("Do not love gold and silver and the worldly possession, for this world passes away and its possession gets lost").[1] Once again, Bauer apparently takes "vergeht" ("passes away") in the sense of "passes by."

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[1] Such a great popularity of the saying concerning the world being a "bridge" has been attested by Jeremias in his article, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Agraphon 'Die Welt ist eine Brücke'," Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Phil.-Hist. Klasse (1953, No. 4). In this article, he showed that the saying occurs at least eight times in Arabic literature and that it is one of the oldest sayings of Jesus preserved in Arabic; cf. also Jeremias, p. 101. It may be added that Jeremias is probably right in assuming that Petrus Alfonsi knew that saying from an Arabic source; cf. *ibid*., p. 102.

All these passages quoted above, whether Rabbinic, Muslim or medieval Latin, seem to point to the same fundamental idea, that man should exercise great care not to make this world his settled abode, as if it were the end of the journey of his life. To these quotations, then, as Wilson suggested, may also be added those passages in the New Testament which speak of Christians, whose citizenship is in heaven, as "strangers" and "sojourners" in this world.[2]

It is in this context that the Coptic Logion 42 should be interpreted. It appears fairly clear by now, especially in light of evidences pointed out above, that the logion carries with it a definite message that man should not lose sight of what lies beyond this world, even though he must live in and through it.

Admittedly, the concept of man's "becoming through dying," on which Gärtner would place a special emphasis, may not be totally unrelated to the basic message which the logion evidently is intended to convey. Yet, if there is to be found in the logion anything that is supposed to "pass away" (i.e. "perish" or "die"), let it be clear that it is the world, not man. This is well expressed by the metaphor, in the Latin passage quoted above, of a bridge which is "unstable."

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[1] Bauer, p. 111. Kasser also mentions that there is a Mandaean parallel to Logion 42, but does not say where it is found or what the actual words of it are (Kasser, p. 72).

[2] E.g., I Pet. 1:1; 2:11; Phil. 3:20. Cf. Wilson, p. 104.

For this reason, the interpretation of the logion suggested by the New Testament Seminar of Princeton Theological Seminary, Schoedel, Grant and Freedman, and most fervently defended by Gärtner, should be rejected. "Become, by passing away" (Gärtner) is a reading which not only fails to grasp the meaning of Logion 42 but also misrepresents the point of its central message by switching it from the world to man. Clearly, the logion does not preach that man's lower (material) part must "pass away" in order that his higher (spiritual) part may "come into being," as those following this line of interpretation would translate it.[1] So far as the present writer can see, the logion has nothing to do with the dualistic view of man, so typical of the Gnostic world of ideas, as light and darkness, the heavenly and the earthly, the spiritual and the material, good and evil, and so forth.

Thus it may now be concluded that Logion 42, the shortest but by no means the least significant of all the logia in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, has its basis deeply rooted in the Jewish-Christian tradition, which nearly always is ready to appreciate the value of man as a whole, who lives in and through this world and yet constantly stands in the presence of his Creator.

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[1] Grant and Freedman, following Schoedel's translation: "Come into being as you pass away," stated that in Logion 42 "both creation and resurrection are denied," which is taken as an incontrovertible proof that Thomas' environment was not Jewish-Christian (p. 78). In view of what has preceded in the present study, however, such a view seems wholly unwarranted.

In addition to those logia that have already been dealt with, there are also others in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas which appear to be of strategic importance for this study. It is the present writer's contention that these also cannot be understood properly unless the investigator keeps his eye constantly on the Jewish-Christian elements that may well lie behind them. Chief among these is Logion 12, which is worthy of special mention because of its reference to "James the righteous" (ІⲀⲔⲰⲂⲞⲤ ⲠⲆⲒⲔⲀⲒⲞⲤ). It reads as follows:

> The disciples said to Jesus: We know that thou wilt go away from us. Who is it who shall be great over us? Jesus said to them: Wherever you have come, you will go to James the righteous for whose sake heaven and earth came into being.
>
> Logion 12 (82.25-30)

The wording of the question put to Jesus by the disciples comes close to that of John 14:5, in which Thomas asked Jesus: "Lord, we do not know where you are going; how can we know the way?" It also in part approximates Mark 9:34: "they had discussed with one another who was the greatest."[1]

The mention of "James" in Jesus' answer to the disciples is of special significance for the present study. In this logion, even Gärtner sees "the most striking" example of "directly 'Jewish Christian' logia in the Gospel of Thomas."[2] The reader of this logion may well be reminded of a fragment of the Jewish-Christian apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews, preserved by Jerome, which at length reads as follows:

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[1] Cf. also Mark 10:43; Luke 9:46; 22:24, 26; Matt. 18:1; 20:26; 23:11.

[2] Gärtner, p. 56.

> The Gospel called according to the Hebrews which was recently translated by me into Greek and Latin, which Origen frequently uses, records after the resurrection of the Saviour:
>
> And when the Lord had given the linen cloth to the servant of the priest, he went to *James* and appeared to him (cf. I Cor. 15:7). For *James* had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until (cf. Mark 14:25 and pars.) he should see him risen from among them that sleep. And shortly thereafter the Lord said: Bring a table and bread! And immediately it is added: he took the bread, blessed it and brake it and gave it (cf. Mark 14:22 and pars.; I Cor. 11:23f.) to *James the Just* and said to him: *My brother*, eat thy bread, for the Son of man is risen from among them that sleep (cf. Mark 8:31 and pars.).[1]

The importance attached to James in this fragment, along with the title of the Gospel itself ("according to the Hebrews"), is regarded by Vielhauer as proof of the Jewish-Christian character of the *Gospel of the Hebrews*.[2] It is interesting to note that James, who is identified as "the brother of Jesus" (not the son of Alphaeus or of Zebedee), is described as a participant at the Last Supper and also as the first witness of the resurrection of the Lord--both contrary to the canonical accounts of these events. All this may be regarded as indicative of an effort on the part of the author of the source of the *Gospel of the Hebrews* to exalt the position of James to the highest rank and to confer upon him the title of great honor and authority over the rest of Jesus' acquaintances.

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[1] Jerome *De viris illustribus* 2 (written about 392-93); quoted and translated by P. Vielhauer in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 165 (underlining by the present writer; Biblical references in the quotation provided by Vielhauer). Cf. also James, pp. 8ff.; Grant-Freedman, p. 35; van Unnik, *Evangelien aus dem Nilsand*, p. 65; *idem*, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, pp. 53f.; Leipoldt, p. 12, n. 5; Wilson, p. 125.

[2] Vielhauer in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 160.

According to Grant and Freedman, the title "the Just" (or, "the righteous") is "a second-century title for the Lord's brother."[1] Discussing the striking features presented by this fragment of the Gospel of the Hebrews, two of which have just been pointed out (i.e. James as a guest at the Last Supper, and also as the witness to the resurrection), the same scholars concluded that "in general, the sole purpose of this story is to strengthen the claims of the Church of Jerusalem at the expense of gentile Christians."[2] This means that the figure of James probably stood in the center of the entire Jewish-Christian tradition almost from the earliest days.[3] Here, then, is to be found one of the important criteria by which to determine the extent of Jewish-Christian elements in a given statement, such as Logion 12.

A valuable side light is cast upon this observation by the words of Hegesippus, whose account of James and his martyrdom Eusebius regarded as "most accurate." Eusebius quoted Hegesippus as having written the following:

> The charge of the Church passed to James the brother of the Lord, together with the Apostles. He was called the "Just" by all men from the Lord's time to ours, since many are called James, but he was holy from his mother's womb.[4]

At any rate, there seems no question but that the Gospel of the Hebrews shows a great concern for Jewish-Christian traditions which evidently were crystalized into the figure of "James the Just, the Lord's brother, bishop of Jerusalem."[1]

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[3] It was James, not Peter, whom Paul went to see in Jerusalem at the conclusion of the so-called "third missionary journey," as recorded in Acts 21:18.

[4] Eusebius *Hist. eccl.* ii. 23. 4.

In light of all that has been observed on these past pages, it is apparent that the Coptic Logion 12 must be examined against this Jewish-Christian background.[2]

A word may be said at this point about the "Naassene" tradition, to which Grant and Freedman refer in connection with Logion 12. These scholars state that "this exaltation of James is characteristic of Jewish-Christian and Naassene tradition."[3] As they point out, it seems fairly certain that the Naassene sect regarded itself as representing the teaching of James the brother of Jesus.[4]

It is all the more significant, therefore, to note that Jean Daniélou, in his discussion on this Gnostic sect, formulated a general rule that "these associations with James are always a sign of a Jewish Christian origin."[5] Daniélou here is referring to the "Jewish Christian origin" of the Naassene sect in particular. Yet, it should be kept in mind at the same time that this statement seems also applicable to any passage or saying in which James is accorded such a high standing and authority over other associates of Jesus as in the Gospel of the Hebrews.

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 35. Van Unnik, Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings, p. 53, also stated that "for the Jewish Christians he [James] was the leading figure."

[2] Haenchen, p. 66, also wrote: "eine ursprünglich jüdenchristliche Tradition steht hinter Spruch 12."

[3] Grant-Freedman, p. 131; cf. also ibid., pp. 35, 86.

[4] Cf. Hippolytus Refutatio v. 7.

[5] Jean Daniélou, The Development of Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea, Vol. I: The Theology of Jewish Christianity, trans. J. A. Baker (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), p. 82.

It should be noted, however, that even if the logion was in use among the Naassenes, as Grant and Freedman seem to suggest, it does not necessarily follow that the logion is Gnostic in origin. On the contrary, it still can be considered as having had a direct contact with Jewish-Christian circles, out of which the original logia-collection, in the course of time, was born under the name and authority of Thomas.

It has generally been assumed that Logion 12, with its reference to "James the righteous," provides an irrefutable proof that one of the sources of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas is the Gospel of the Hebrews. Thus, van Unnik, for example, wrote: "Saying 12 makes it clear that a familiarity with the Gospel of the Hebrews is certainly part of the background to this collection [i.e. the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas]."[1]

However, this is not the only possibility in regard to the relationship, if any, between the Gospel of the Hebrews and the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. At least two other alternatives demand attention: either that the Gospel of the Hebrews is dependent on the Gospel of Thomas (at least in its original form, i.e. the "Ur-Thomas"), or that both go back to a common Jewish-Christian tradition. Although no final decision can be made at this point, it seems to the present writer that the former alternative is more likely, as previously discussed in Chapter VI.

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[1] Van Unnik, Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings, p. 53. H. E. W. Turner, p. 27, also expressed his opinion in this direction by stating: "The Gospel of the Hebrews is probably the source of Saying 12. . . . The exaltation of James (correctly described as the Just) is characteristic of Jewish Christianity, though it also occurs in gnostic (Naassene) sources."

The Jewish-Christian character of Logion 12 seems also supported by the closing words: "for whose sake heaven and earth came into being." Gärtner admits that this sentence is also "evidence of a Jewish form of expression."[1] Wilson, too, thinks that the last part of the logion is an indication of "a Jewish background to this Saying."[2] In support of the same observation, Leipoldt notes that there is a similar expression in the Babylonian Talmud, which runs: "The whole world in its totality is supported for the sake of my son Channina."[3]

These observations that have been presented in the foregoing pages make it certain that Logion 12 is typically Jewish-Christian in character. It is also evident that those who preserved this saying in their traditions, oral or written, undoubtedly were Jewish-Christians, for they alone were really capable of making anything out of a saying such as this one. The Gospel of Thomas, into which this saying was incorporated at the time of its original composition, may eventually have passed into the hands of people who were not Jewish-Christians. But that does not rule out the possibility that it was originally composed by and circulated among the Jewish-Christians in Edessa. Gnostic elements that may be found in the present Coptic Thomas must therefore be considered as secondary additions at later times.

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[1] Gärtner, p. 57. He also remarks that this expression is "a title of high honour," which is "normally applied e.g. to the Torah, David, the Messiah, Israel and in the NT to Jesus, Col. 1:16."

[2] Wilson, pp. 125-26.

[3] Tannit 24b; cf. Leipoldt, p. 12, n. 5: "Die ganze Welt in ihrer Gesamtheit wird ernährt um meines Sohnes Channina."

Logion 52 also exhibits characteristics similar to those found in Logion 12. Logion 52 begins with a statement (rather than a question) by his disciples, which is then followed by Jesus' words addressed to them. The content of this logion, like that of Logion 12, may be characterized as pre-eminently Jewish-Christian. The "official" translation reads as follows:

> His disciples said to Him: Twenty-four prophets spoke in Israel and they all spoke about (lit.: in) Thee. He said to them: You have dismissed the Living (One) who is before you and you have spoken about the dead.
>
> Logion 52 (90.12-18)

The "twenty-four prophets" in the disciples' statement almost certainly refers to "the twenty-four books" of the Hebrew Bible. At the close of the first century A.D., the Council at Jamnia or Jabneh (about A.D. 90), under the leadership of Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, finalized the contents of the canon of scriptures. As a result, the Hebrew Bible was limited to twenty-four books: five in the Law of Moses, eight in the Prophets, and eleven in the Writings (counting Ezra-Nehemiah as one book and I-II Chronicles as another).[1] Thus, the limitation of the Biblical canon to twenty-four books, along with the supreme authority of the Law or "Torah," as Robert H. Pfeiffer put it, became "axiomatic in normative Judaism since at least A.D. 100."[1]

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[1] I.e. 5 books of the "Torah" (Gen., Exod., Lev., Num., Deut.), 4 "Former Prophets" (Josh., Judg., I-II Sam., I-II Kings), 4 "Latter Prophets" (Is., Jer., Ezek., the Twelve), and 11 "Kethubim" or "Hagiographa" (Ps., Job, Prov.; Ruth, Song, Eccl., Lam., Esth.; Dan.; Ezra-Neh., I-II Chron.), totaling 24 books.

This Bible of twenty-four books is first mentioned by one of the Old Testament apocryphal writings, the "Second Book of Esdras" (or, the "Ezra Apocalypse" or "IV Ezra"). In the Fourteenth Chapter, there is recorded the seventh and last in a series of visions received by Ezra. In it Ezra tells how he wrote "ninety-four books" in "forty days." The work was done through the hands of five trained scribes (named Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, Ethanus, and Asiel, according to verse 24), who "wrote what was dictated, in characters which they did not know" (verse 42). When the task was finished, Ezra heard the Most High speak to him:

> Make public the twenty-four books that you wrote first and let the worthy and the unworthy read them; but keep the seventy that were written last, in order to give them to the wise among your people.[2]

The "twenty-four books" in this passage evidently refer to the books of the Hebrew canon mentioned above, whereas the remaining "seventy" probably "refer to apocalyptic writings."[3]

With this in mind, then, the words of the disciples may be paraphrased somewhat as follows: "Is it not marvelous that all the twenty-four books of the Hebrew Bible bore witness to you?" This is a typical Christological interpretation of the Old Testament text, a method of exegesis prevalent among early Christians. To this Jesus replied, partly in the affirmative and partly as a warning: "You are right; but do not forget the one who is living right in front of you,[1] and do not just talk about things of the past." As it seems to the present writer, such is the general meaning of Logion 52.

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[1] R. H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941; 2nd ed. rev., 1948), p. 65.

[2] II Esdras 14:45-46.

[3] So, e.g., W. O. E. Oesterley, An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha (London: S.P.C.K., 1935; repr., 1958), p. 146. It may be mentioned at this point that Grant and Freedman, p. 162, take the "twenty-four prophets" literally as "the twenty-four Jewish prophets." The number "twenty-four," according to them, was obtained by Thomas by adding John the Baptist to the "twenty-three prophets" already known from the old Jewish Lives of the Prophets, ed. C. C. Torrey ("Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph," Vol. I; Philadelphia, 1946).

It may be pointed out that opinions have been expressed by some scholars to the effect that Jesus' words in this logion are meant to be a total rejection of the Old Testament.[2] Consequently, according to these scholars, Thomas is supposed to be following the same path as Marcion walked. This logion, as Gärtner sees it, is "a direct polemic against the Old Testament."[3]

One of the reasons why the words of Jesus in this logion are regarded as anti-Old Testament is because an apocryphal saying parallel to this logion was emphatically rejected by Augustine.[4] Augustine wrote a book entitled: Contra adversarium Legis et Prophetarum ("Against the Adversary of the Law and the Prophets"), as his reply to an anonymous Marcionite pamphlet, which he came across one day at about A.D. 420 when he was walking along the shore street at Carthage. In this book Augustine relates a story, containing a saying of Jesus, which runs as follows:

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[1] It is significant to note the way in which Doresse, p. 363, translates Jesus' words in this logion as follows: "You have passed over Him who is living in front of your eyes, and have spoken of the dead" (underlining by the present writer).

[2] Grant-Freedman, p. 162.

[3] Gärtner, pp. 150, 155.

[4] So, e.g., Turner, p. 114.

> But when the Apostles (he said) had asked how they should regard the prophets of the Jews, who are thought to have prophesied in the past about his coming, he answered, surprised that they still harboured such an idea: You have forsaken the Living One who is before you, and speak about the dead.[1]

As Jeremias remarked in his discussion of this saying of Jesus, the Marcionite evidently had used this saying as "an argument for his rejection of the Old Testament."[2] If so, the question is: Did the Marcionite interpret the saying correctly? The answer seems to be in the negative, as the paraphrase of Logion 52 above readily shows.

Furthermore, not only was the Marcionite wrong in his interpretation of the saying, but also Augustine himself was mistaken at this point, since he threw away the saying itself along with the Marcionite's misinterpretation of it.

It is further deplorable that some present-day scholars are doing the same. For instance, Grant and Freedman say, in support of Augustine's rejection of the saying, that "Augustine had no hesitation about declaring it [the saying] to be fictitious."[3] In all this, Grant and Freedman's gnosticizing zeal seems to have gotten the better of them to the point where they have become oblivious to other origins. Their ready acceptance of Augustine's judgment in the matter appears to be in order that they may find further justification for their denial of this saying's authenticity, as it has been handed down in Coptic dress in the Nag Hammadi *Gospel of Thomas*. Discarding the saying as unauthentic because it is found in a Marcionite or Coptic Gnostic setting is too much like "throwing out the baby with the bath."

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[1] Augustine C. adv. legis et proph. ii. 4. 14 (PL XLII. 647), as translated by Gärtner, p. 151. Cf. also Jeremias, pp. 74-77; Kasser, p. 81; Wilson, p. 127.

[2] Jeremias, p. 74.

[3] Grant-Freedman, p. 90.

Should one regard the saying, whether in Augustine or in *Thomas*, as an invention by the heretics? Augustine evidently thought it was. So do some modern scholars, such as Gärtner, Grant and Freedman. Jeremias, however, holds an opinion diametrically opposed to these critics. Indeed, he has included the saying in question among the twenty-one agrapha which have "as high a claim to authenticity as the sayings recorded in our four Gospels."[1]

Jeremias believes that "both the occasion of the saying (a question of a disciple) and also its form and content appear on closer inspection to suggest an early tradition."[2] Interpreting Jesus' words as "an accusation," he paraphrases the saying as follows:

> You have rejected me. There he is, standing before them as a living person, accredited to them by God, and long since enthroned in their hearts as their Saviour, and they still go on talking about a dead man of the past returning as the Messiah! Has he not yet done enough to substantiate his mission? If they attach more importance to human speculations than to their own living experience of their Saviour, it means they are rejecting him.[3]

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[1] Jeremias, pp. 30, 74-77.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 75.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

In so far as the present writer can determine, in light of the newly discovered Coptic Thomas, the saying of Jesus here is to be taken as a mild warning rather than a harsh rebuke of his disciples, as Jeremias maintains.

Moreover, some of the other details of Jeremias' arguments now need also to be revised in light of this Coptic manuscript, which had not yet been discovered at the time of his writing. However, that is not within the province of this dissertation. Here it must suffice to re-emphasize the main line of his persuasive arguments as previously noted. This is his insistence upon the authenticity of this saying in question.

Whether or not the saying, preserved by Augustine in disproof but approvingly in the Coptic Thomas, is an authentic saying of Jesus, is not a question that must be decided in this present study. The primitive character of the saying is all that the present investigator is concerned with here. That this has been emphatically maintained by Jeremias cannot be as lightly dismissed as some present-day scholars propose to do.

For purposes of the present research, this means that, in the main following Jeremias, the probable existence of early Jewish-Christian tradition behind Logion 52 as its immediate background may now in all likelihood be assumed.[1]

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[1] Even Wilson, who is very cautious in such matters, leaves open the possibility that Logion 52 has primitive "Jewish-Christian elements." He stated thus: "Here [in Log. 52] we have a case of a saying recorded only in an apocryphal document, as Augustine says, which may yet have some claim to consideration as possibly authentic. Even if not authentic, it would appear to reflect a period of controversy with the Jews about the Messiahship of Jesus, such a situation as is envisaged, for example, in Ignatius' letter to the

As in the case of Logion 12, it may well be that Logion 52, at least at the time of its translation into Coptic, was in the hands of certain less-orthodox Egyptian Christians. However, this does not preclude the basic Jewish-Christian character of this logion, for who else, besides Jewish-Christians, could possibly have become so much interested in a saying of this nature as to preserve it in a book? The primitive, if not authentic, character of this logion, as presented in the preceding pages, seems to ensure its standing in the early Jewish-Christian milieu, to which the *Gospel of Thomas* ultimately belongs.

Logion 102 in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* probably also displays primitive characteristics. This logion is directed against the "Pharisees." It reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Woe to them, the Pharisees, for they are like a dog sleeping in the manger of exen, for neither does he eat nor does he allow the oxen to eat.
>
> Logion 102 (98.2-5)

"Woe to the Pharisees" is also mentioned, along with "the scribes," in Logion 39, which has already been cited in Chapter VI in connection with the meaning of the term "hidden." These "Woes" recall similar expressions in the canonical Gospels, particularly in Matthew and Luke.[1]

Quispel saw in this logion "the sensuousness of good tradi-

Philadelphians (chap. 8), and this may justify its inclusion at this point" (Wilson, p. 127).

[1] E.g., Matt. 23:13, (14,) 15, 16, 23, 25, 27, 29; 26:24; Luke 6:24, 25, 26; 11:42, 44, 46, 47, 52; 17:1; 22:22; cf. also Mark 14:21; Jude 11; Rev. 8:13; 12:12.

tion,"[1] and consequently regarded it as primitive. "The dog in the manger" (κύων ἐν φάτνη), as frequently noted, is proverbial,[2] and Quispel considers that "close affinities with the proverbs of all sorts of peoples are a characteristic of good tradition."[3]

J. B. Bauer suggests two possibilities in interpreting Logion 102. One is to read the logion in terms of "the Jewish conception of the eschatological meal" (die jüdische Vorstellung vom eschatologischen Mahl), in which case the canonical reference would be Luke 14:15-24 and Matthew 8:11-12. The other is to interpret it primarily as having to do with "the spiritual food" (die geistige Speise), as suggested in John 6:27, 35, 55; I Corinthians 10:3; or Ecclesiasticus (or, the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach) 15:3; 24:21.[4]

Whichever line of interpretation is to be followed, one needs continuously to try to see if the logion can be assigned a proper place within the course of Jesus' ministry. In other words, it is important that one should make an effort to find out not only the "Sitz im Leben" but also the "Sitz im Leben Jesu" of that saying.[5] With this principle in mind, Bauer then calls attention to a particular canonical passage, Luke 17:1-2: "And he said to his disciples, 'Temptations to sin are sure to come; but woe to him by whom they come! . . . " He thinks that it should be possible to fit Logion 102 into this context of the life of Jesus.[1] Wilson, taking this observation by Bauer to be valuable, concluded that "there would seem to be grounds for including this [logion] among those agrapha with some claim to authenticity."[2]

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[1] Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," p. 204.

[2] Bauer, p. 135, and p. 149, n. 80; cf. also Grant-Freedman, p. 190, and Wilson, p. 76. Quispel stated that "the dog in the manger, el perro del hortelano, are very common expressions in English and Spanish" (op. cit., p. 204).

[3] Quispel, op. cit., p. 204. [4] Bauer, pp. 135-36.

[5] For Bauer this is an important criterion by which to determine the matter of authenticity of a given saying attributed to Jesus; cf. Bauer, op. cit., passim., and Wilson, p. 151.

It should be clear, then, how unwarranted is the statement by Turner who speaks of Logion 102 as proof that "the Jews and their religious observances are swept away out of hand."[3] There is in fact much to be said in opposition to a sweeping argument such as this. Dealing with this logion, along with others such as Logia 58, 65 and 97, Quispel, for example, had this to say:

> I do not see why these and similar unknown Sayings of Jesus that are contained in the Gospel of Thomas and by their wording, their style and their content betray their Palestinian origin, should not have the same historical value as the words of Jesus contained in our four canonical Gospels. They may have been transmitted in a Palestinian milieu quite isolated from the rest of Christendom and not influenced by the trends of Pauline theology. And we must not exclude the possibility that these people may have preserved sometimes the words of Jesus in a form more primitive than that found in the canonical Gospels.[4]

However, it seems to the present writer that Quispel's position is marred by his strong favor for the Gospel of the

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[1] Bauer, p. 138.

[2] Wilson, p. 77.

[3] Turner, p. 115. In addition to Logion 102, he also mentions Logia 39 and 43.

[4] Quispel, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

Hebrews. He regards this Jewish-Christian apocryphal Gospel as a common source that presumably lies behind the Gospel of Thomas and other documents, e.g., the Diatessaron and the Pseudo-Clementine literature. Quispel takes this position wherever there are readings that agree with the so-called "Western text."[1] Moreover, it is not certain if one should limit his consideration of the probable background of those Coptic logia, to which Quispel refers, only to the bounds of the "Palestinian" Jewish-Christian community. It seems more likely that the kind of Jewish-Christianity, which in all probability underlies the original Thomas, was of a more widely varied and complex nature. Such a milieu would more likely be found in a geographical area located away from the main stream of early Christianity during the first half of the second century.

Admittedly, whatever words Jesus may have used were spoken in Aramaic and on Palestinian soil. To this extent Quispel is right in stressing the "Palestinian" character of some of the Coptic logia, such as Logion 102. However, this does not rule out the possibility that those logia may have been preserved outside Palestine also. The continued existence of the originally Palestinian tradition elsewhere (and the present writer suggests the northeastern section of Syria for such materials as found their way into the presumed "Ur-Thomas") is to be assumed as a matter of course. This is precisely where the chief interest of the present study lies. Be that as it may, Quispel's view, as presented by himself in the above quotation seems worth bearing in mind in all these attempts at investigating the Jewish-Christian nature of some of the logia contained in the Coptic Thomas.

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[1] Ibid., p. 203.

Wilson, too, admits that "there is a Jewish-Christian element in Thomas, quite apart from anything due to the canonical tradition," and that "this element has some connection with the Clementines [which is Quispel's thesis]." At the same time, however, he registers a warning that "beyond such general statements we are on dangerous ground." "That both [i.e. Thomas and the Clementines] go back to the Gospel of the Hebrews," so Wilson continued to say, "is at any rate possible, but here we cannot yet speak with any confidence."[1]

Although stating all this, Wilson appears not at all prepared to accept any theory regarding possible existence of Jewish-Christian elements in Thomas.[2] His negative attitude toward the matter becomes apparent when he makes a statement, in agreement with Grant and Freedman, such as this: "what is certain is that if Thomas uses Jewish-Christian tradition he does so . . . in an anti-Jewish way."[3] Those logia in Thomas that are referred to by Wilson as "anti-Jewish" can, in fact, be interpreted in a way that is by no means "anti-Jewish." This observation, however, need not be reiterated at this point, since much has already been said in this direction in the foregoing pages.

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[1] Wilson, p. 131.

[2] See Wilson's arguments on "The Jewish-Christian Elements" presented in Chapter 5 of his book, pp. 117-32.

[3] Wilson, pp. 131-32; cf. also Grant-Freedman, pp. 77-78. The following logia are specifically mentioned by him as examples of the so-called "anti-Jewish" logia: Log. 6, 14, 27, 39, 43, 53, and 102.

The above section of the present chapter has been devoted to investigating a few selected logia of Thomas. Some of them display their primitive nature. Others are characteristically Jewish-Christian in essence. The "anti-Jewish" label that has frequently been attached to the latter logia, in the opinion of the present writer, has no justification. Thus it is evident that there is nothing to prohibit the investigator from considering that all the logia that have been brought under surveillance in this first part of the present chapter, as well as those logia treated in the preceding two chapters, originally belonged to the Gospel of Thomas from the beginning of its literary history.

It should be kept in mind, therefore, that the "literary development" of the Gospel of Thomas, which is the main subject of this dissertation, primarily refers to changes and modifications that appear to have been made in the course of time to the text of individual logia in Thomas, rather than to various stages in the process of its snowball-like growth.

Even so, there are a few logia in Thomas that appear to have been added to the original body of the logia-collection sometime during the course of its literary development. This is the subject in the second half of the present chapter which follows.

* * *

This second part of the present chapter will deal with those logia in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas which, upon close examination, reveal characteristics which seem to suggest that they grew out of an environment which was not Jewish-Christian in its origin or outlook. These logia probably were current among early Christian circles that had been exposed to a wider variety of thought-currents than the narrowly defined Jewish-Christianity. There is a good possibility that these logia had not been included in the "Ur-Thomas" or even the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas," but first became incorporated into the Coptic edition of the *Gospel of Thomas*.

The insertion of these logia into the *Gospel of Thomas* may have taken place at about the same time the Syrian form of the name of Thomas (i.e. "Judas Thomas," as in P. Oxy. 654) was changed to the presumed Egyptian designation, "Didymos Judas Thomas." The Coptic editor, who presumably made this alteration, was probably also responsible for the incorporation of these late logia into the body of the logia-collection that had been transmitted to him.

The first logion to be taken into consideration in this part of the present chapter is Logion 61. It consists of an exchange of conversation between Jesus and Salome (ⲤⲀⲖⲰⲘⲎ). The "official" translation reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Two will rest on a bed: the one will die, the one will live.
> Salome said: Who art thou, man, and whose (son)? Thou didst take thy place upon my bench and eat from my table.
> Jesus said to her: I am He who is from the Same, to Me was given from the things of My Father.
> ⟨Salome said⟩ : I am Thy disciple.
> ⟨Jesus said to her⟩: Therefore I say, if he is the Same, he will be filled with light, but if he is divided, he will be filled with darkness.

Logion 61 (91.23-34)

"Salome" appears only in this logion in the entire Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*. However, it is a well-known fact that she is a frequent interlocutor of Jesus in the apocryphal Gospel of the Egyptians, a few fragments of which have been preserved by Clement of Alexandria.[1] This evidence has prompted the investigator to suspect the possible connection between the Coptic Thomas and the Gospel of the Egyptians. Puech, for example, suggested that Logion 61, along with others (e.g., Logia 22, 37, 106, 114), "may be ascribed, with more or less certainty, to the Gospel of the Egyptians." He, however, would not pass any verdict on just how these two Gospels were related to one another. Instead, he suggests two alternatives, by stating that it is possible these logia just mentioned "were borrowed from the Gospel of the Egyptians, or [that they] are common to this gospel [of the Egyptians] and that of Thomas."[2]

Admittedly, the present amount of knowledge about the Gospel of the Egyptians is extremely small. Apart from half a dozen quotations, which are expressly declared by Clement as portions of that Gospel, "almost nothing can with certainty be claimed for this apocryphal gospel."[3] Yet, one thing seems certain, that the Gospel of the Egyptians was "the gospel of the Gentile-Christian Egyptians," as distinguished from "the Alexandrian and Jewish-Christian Gospel of the Hebrews."[4]

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[1] Clement of Alexandria Stromateis iii. 45, 63, 64, 66, 91ff. For these passages in English see W. Schneemelcher's article on the "Gospel of the Egyptians" in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 166-78.

[2] Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 298-99.

[3] Schneemelcher in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 177.

[4] Ibid.

The Christianity of the Nile valley, according to Schneemelcher, who agrees with Walter Bauer, "was already at its outset influenced by Gnosticism."[1] Furthermore, it is held that the Gospel of the Egyptians, which is dated in the second century, "probably the first third,"[2] reaches back to a time "in which the Christians in Egypt made use of this gospel and indeed of it alone as their life of Christ."[3] There is, therefore, nothing surprising if a saying of Jesus, presumably drawn from that Gospel, should display some remarkable traits which probably did not belong to the teachings of the Great Church.

The prominent place assigned to Salome, who evidently was an important figure in the less orthodox circle of the early Egyptian Christians, may thus be considered as an indication of the nature of the background to the logion under discussion, i.e., Logion 61.

It is true, of course, that Salome is not entirely absent from documents other than the Gospel of the Egyptians. She appears, for example, in the Pistis Sophia, a third-century Gnostic work, but here it is Mary Magdalene, not Salome, who occupies the most prominent position among the followers of Jesus.[4] Such being the situation, it seems safe to take "Salome" as a figure linking

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Ibid., p. 178.

[3] This quotation is taken by Schneemelcher (Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 177) from Walter Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum (2d ed. rev., 1964), p. 54.

[4] Puech's article on the Pistis Sophia in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 250-59.

Logion 61 of the Coptic *Thomas* with the *Gospel of the Egyptians*.

Whether this Coptic Logion 61 was actually taken from the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, or whether both were dependent on a common tradition, cannot be determined at this point. So long as nothing more extensive is known concerning the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, than the few surviving fragments of it reveal, it seems that the latter alternative (of a common tradition) is more likely. It is further to be assumed that such a tradition, common to Logion 61 and the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, appears to be of a nature quite alien to the teachings of Jewish-Christianity. This is what separates Logion 61 from the logia that have hitherto been discussed in the previous pages. It does not seem possible to regard this logion as originally part of the earlier versions of the *Gospel of Thomas* prior to the present Coptic.

With regard to Logion 61 itself, Gärtner is perhaps right in observing that "Salome is evidently inquiring here after Jesus' true nature. . . . 'Who are you? Where have you come from?'"[1] In the same manner, Doresse finds the central issue of this logion in the first words of Salome, in which those questions were raised. Doresse further suggests that Salome's reference to "my bench" led to the first words of Jesus at the beginning of the logion: "Two will rest on a bed, etc." These words of Jesus, according to him, are "the artificial addition."[2] Likewise, the last statement by

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[1] Gärtner, p. 135. He, however, holds the opinion that the opening words of Jesus ("Two will rest on a bed, etc.") should be considered as "an independent logion" (*ibid*., p. 170).

[2] Doresse, p. 375.

Jesus beginning with "Therefore I say" is also considered by Doresse as "an addition by the editor."[1]

The core of Logion 61, then, is Salome's question regarding the nature of Jesus, Jesus' answer to her, revealing who he was, and the confession of Salome: "I am thy disciple." Analyzed in this way, there seems nothing specifically anti-Jewish-Christian in this logion. However, the very fact that Salome plays such a prominent role as Jesus' interlocutor appears to suggest that there was some connection between the logion and the kind of milieu out of which the Gospel of Egyptians was born.

On the basis of the extant quotations from the Gospel of the Egyptians, one may speak of a "Salome tradition." Logion 61 certainly belongs to that particular cycle of stories centering around the figure of Salome. Such a tradition about Salome probably grew outside the early Christian traditions that became incorporated into the canonical Gospels,[2] as well as outside the Jewish-Christian milieu to which the Gospel of Thomas in all likelihood originally belonged.

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[1] Doresse, p. 375. For another example of such an additional comment by the editor, Doresse refers to Log. 111. This begins with the usual opening formula: "Jesus said." Then, in the middle of the saying, a strange sentence is suddenly inserted: "because Jesus says." This indicates that what follows thereafter is an editorial comment, according to Doresse (ibid.).

[2] In the canonical traditions, Salome is one of the Galilean women who followed Jesus and were present at the crucifixion (Mark 15:40-41; cf. 16:1). Some think she was Zebedee's wife and the mother of James and John (cf. Matt. 27:56). If "his mother's sister" in John 19:25 refers to this Salome, then she was the aunt of Jesus. Zebedee, then, would have been his uncle, and James and John, his cousins. If such were the case, then it would also account for Jesus' words about his mother spoken from the cross to the "Beloved Disciple" (presumed to be John). In Matt. 14:6 and Mark 6:22, there is mentioned a "daughter of Herodias," who is identified by Josephus (Antiq. xviii. 5. 4) as "Salome." However, nothing is known of this Salome beyond that she danced on the occasion of the birthday party

Next, attention should be directed to Logion 114, the last of all the logia contained in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*. Because of its uniqueness in character, this logion demands special treatment. It reads as follows:

> Simon Peter said to them: Let Mary go out from among us, because women are not worthy of the Life.
> Jesus said: See, I shall lead her, so that I will make her male, that she too may become a living spirit, resembling you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven.
>
> Logion 114 (99.18-26)

This logion consists of the words of Peter, not necessarily addressed to Jesus, and Jesus' statement, presumably directed to a group of his disciples. Outside this logion, "Simon Peter" appears only once, in Logion 13, which already has been discussed. "Mary" or "Mariham" (ⲘⲀⲢⲒϨⲀⲘ) plays a rather important role as Jesus' questioner in Logion 21, where she asks him: "Whom are thy disciples like?"

The central message of Logion 114 may be best summarized by the words of Peter: "Women are not worthy of the Life." Jesus makes his statement, according to this logion, reaffirming this notion about women's inability to enter the kingdom unless they become male. The present writer would like to call this strange idea the doctrine of *male monopoly*.

There seems to have been a fairly common misunderstanding as to the basic point of this logion. Grant and Freedman, for example, as previously quoted, commented on it by saying: "Male

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for Herod Antipas. The Salome of Logion 61 and the *Gospel of the Egyptians* may have been the first of the two Salomes mentioned above, unless she was a third one of whom nothing is known whatsoever.

and female must become one. . . . The high point of Thomas's eschatology is thus reached, at the end of his gospel, with the obliteration of sex."[1]

Let it be clear at the outset that this logion speaks of nothing about "male and female" becoming "one." Neither is "the obliteration of sex" the main subject of this logion at all. Instead, the concept of male monopoly in the matter of man's salvation is what this logion is intended to convey.

For this same reason, Logion 114 should not be treated in the same category with other logia where "the division of man into male and female" is the presumed subject.[2] Klijn, for example, included in this category such logia as 61, 72, 105 and 114, and made a remark that "the last two sayings clearly show that the preaching of 'oneness' results in rejecting marriage. Man has to become an asexual being."[3]

It is difficult to follow Klijn's argument at this point, since the text of Logion 114 (and 105 as well) has nothing to do with "marriage" or the rejection of it. Furthermore, the concept of "oneness" in the sense of man's becoming "an asexual being" is entirely foreign to this logion.

Even a casual reader of Logion 114 will readily see that the point of this logion is not "the obliteration of sex" (Grant and Freedman) or the creation of "an asexual being" (Klijn). Rather, its central message is found in its insistence upon the doctrine of male monopoly, i.e., a woman must become male in order that she, too, may become eligible for entry into the kingdom. Men as male creatures still continue to exist as they are, instead of losing their sexuality in the way women are supposed to, as these scholars seem to maintain. Thus, it seems clear that what this logion is designed to preach is the peculiar idea of male monopoly, more than anything else.

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[1] Grant-Freedman, pp. 197-98; cf. Chap. VI, supra.

[2] A. F. J. Klijn, "The 'Single One' in the Gospel of Thomas," Journal of Biblical Literature, LXXXI (September, 1962), p. 273. For the previous discussions on this and related matters, see Chap. VI, supra.

[3] Klijn, op. cit., p. 273. Log. 105 reads: "Jesus said: Whoever knows father and mother shall be called the son of a harlot" (98.16-18).

For the same reason, it also needs to be pointed out that Logion 114 has little to do with Gnostic asceticism that has often been associated with it.[1] Here in this logion, there is no room for what Gärtner calls "the neutralization of the sexual life, so that the person in question becomes practically sexless, and pure."[2]

At the same time, such a concept of male monopoly as given in Logion 114 has no precise parallel in any other logia contained in the Coptic Thomas, except in three logia in which the term "solitary" occurs, as will be discussed shortly. Some scholars apparently would like to interpret this logion within the context of a "unity" between sexes as the state of salvation.[3] If there is anything in this logion which might suggest such a "unity," it may be well to remember that the kind of "unity" envisaged in Logion 114 is a "unity," not on an equal basis between sexes, but of a unilateral nature in favor of the male sex.

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[1] E.g., Gärtner, pp. 253-55. He deals with Log. 22, 37, 79, and 114, under the heading: "Against Marriage and the Sexual Life." However, in so far as the present writer can discern, none of these four logia seems to fit into the category suggested by that heading, as previously discussed in Chap. VI.

[2] Gärtner, p. 256.

[3] Cf., e.g., Wilson, pp. 29-36; Grant-Freedman, pp. 143-44 (commenting on Log. 22).

All this seems to the present writer to endorse his view that Logion 114 requires a separate treatment from other logia of Thomas such as dealt with in the previous two chapters and the first half of the present chapter, and that in all probability it did not belong to the Gospel of Thomas in its earlier versions prior to the Coptic edition of it.

It is not possible to determine the source of Logion 114. It is interesting to note that Clement of Alexandria has preserved a fragment of the Gospel of the Egyptians, which shows some affinities with the message of Logion 114. The passage quoted by Clement from that Gospel reads as follows: "The Saviour himself said, 'I am come to undo the works of the female'."[1] This saying attributed to Jesus, apparently, was known to the Encratites, who were radically opposed to marriage and sexuality in general. Clement's purpose in quoting this passage, as well as other similar ones from the Gospel of the Egyptians, was to repudiate such an ascetic attitude toward sex and marriage by making it clear that "marriage and child-bearing are just as little sinful as is continence."[2]

Because of the apparently common interest that exists between Thomas' Logion 114 and the Clement passage, Puech suggests well to remember that the kind of "unity" envisaged in Logion 114 is a "unity," not on an equal basis between sexes, but of a unilateral nature in favor of the male sex.

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[1] Clement of Alexandria Stromateis iii. 63, as translated in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 166-67.

[2] These words are Schneemelcher's, in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 167.

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Because of the apparently common interest that exists between Thomas' Logion 114 and the Clement passage, Puech suggests that the logion might have been borrowed from the *Gospel of the Egyptians*, or both might ultimately go back to a common source that has long since been lost.[1] Yet, it seems that the difference between Logion 114 and Clement's quotation from that apocryphal Gospel is too great to confirm as final either one of Puech's suggestions. Under the present circumstances, therefore, all that can be said is that Logion 114 was taken over, presumably by the Coptic editor, from some as yet unknown source and thus became a part of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* as it now stands. To be more specific on this matter would mean to go beyond the evidence.

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[1] Clement of Alexandria Stromateis iii. 63, as translated in Hennecke-Wilson I, pp. 166-67.

[2] These words are Schneemelcher's, in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 167.

As pointed out earlier, there are in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas* three logia that bear a close resemblance in thought to Logion 114 which has just been discussed. These logia, therefore, should now be brought under surveillance. These three logia, moreover, require to be dealt with as a group because of the occurrence, in each of them, of the Greek loan word ⲘⲞⲚⲀⲬⲞⲤ (= μοναχός), which is translated "solitary" in the "official" edition of the Coptic *Thomas*. The first of these is Logion 16, which reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Men possibly think that I have come to throw peace upon the world and they do not know that I have come to throw divisions upon the earth, fire, sword, war. For there shall be five in a house: three shall be against two and two against three, the father against the son and the son against the father, and they will stand as solitaries.
>
> Logion 16 (83.31-84.5)

Obviously, much of this logion is parallel to those passages that are familiar from the canonical Gospels, such as: "Do not think that I have come to bring peace on earth; I have not come to bring peace, but a sword" (Matthew 10:34), and "Do you think that I have come to give peace on earth? No, I tell you, but rather division" (Luke 12:51).[1] Then there are these words in the Lucan form: "I came to cast fire upon the earth" (Luke 12:49a), and "for henceforth in one house there will be five divided, three against two and two against three; they will be divided, father against son and son against father" (Luke 12:52, 53a).

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[1] Cf. Puech in Hennecke-Wilson I, p. 299.

Curiously absent from _Thomas_, it should be noted, are the canonical words about the division to be brought forth by the coming of Jesus between "mother" and "daughter," as well as "mother-in-law" and "daughter-in-law" (Matthew 10:35; Luke 12:53b). This lack of any reference to the female sex in Logion 16 is significant. This is the reason why this logion should be brought into close connection with Logion 114. Why does _Thomas_ keep completely silent regarding "mother" and "daughter" or "mother-in-law" and "daughter-in-law"? It is difficult to think that the omission is accidental, since _Thomas_ otherwise reproduces almost _verbatim_ portions of the corresponding canonical passages quoted above. It is more likely that those references were deliberately omitted by _Thomas_ or by the person who stood behind the logion, in accordance with his peculiar belief that "women are not worthy of the Life" (Logion 114). The omission of reference to women in Logion 16, in short, is intentional, not accidental; it reflects the concept of _male monopoly_ that evidently was current among certain Egyptian Christians who stood away from the main stream of early Christianity.[1]

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[1] Cf. also Log. 10: "Jesus said: I have cast fire upon the world, and see, I guard it until it is afire" (82.14-16).

Furthermore, this omission of the reference to women in Logion 16 appears to be counterbalanced in a rather remarkable way by the addition of an entirely new sentence at the end of the logion: "and they will stand as solitaries." Evidently, these "solitaries" do not include women. Thus, the logion, taken as a whole, appears to declare that women cannot be counted among the so-called "solitaries," even if they were divided among themselves, as in the canonical Gospels. As already has been shown, this omission was due to prejudice against women in some of the sources that became incorporated into the Coptic Thomas.

The Greek word μοναχός, here translated "solitary," was seldom used in pre-Christian times.[2] It does not occur in the canonical New Testament. Encountered by this term in the Coptic manuscript of the Gospel of Thomas, Grant first took it to mean a "monk." Accordingly, he wrote at that time that "one saying in the Coptic version [i.e. Logion 49] is a blessing upon monks and references to monks have been added to two others [Logia 16 and 75]."[3]

W. C. Till raised an objection to this interpretation in his comments on Logion 16 by stating as follows:

> "Solitary" translates here μοναχός, which cannot have its usual meaning "monk" in this early text, but seems rather to

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[1] Grant-Freedman, p. 136, called attention to the significance of this omission of the reference to women in Logion 16.

[2] Leipoldt, op. cit., p. 13, n. 6; Klijn, op. cit., p. 272, n. 3.

[3] R. M. Grant, "Notes on the Gospel of Thomas," VC, XIII (1959), p. 170; cf. also Leipoldt, op. cit., p. 13.

> mean "the lonely one"--not so much in the sense of a hermit or an anchorite but of a person standing alone with the advanced development of his knowledge (gnosis) who, therefore, is not one of the mass.[1]

In view of opinions such as this one by Till, as well as others by Schoedel and Puech, Grant subsequently withdrew his former view in favor of "solitary." He made this change clear in the "Additional Note" to the same article from which the above quotation was made, by stating as follows:

> Following Schoedel, I should agree that there are no reference to "monks" in Sayings 16, 50 [=49 in the "official" edition], and 75; the word should be translated "single ones" or "solitaries" (so Doresse, L'Évangile selon Thomas, Paris, 1959, 175). It is therefore unnecessary to date Thomas after the rise of monasticism.[2]

The word "solitary," then, is a term signifying those who have broken earthly ties with families. The true believer is the one who must "hate his own father and mother and wife and children and brothers and sisters, yes, and even his own life" (Luke 14:26; cf, Matthew 10:37). In short, he must "deny himself and take up his cross and follow" Jesus (Mark 8:34; also Matthew 16:24; Luke 9:23). Even so, according to Logion 16, women are not considered to be worthy of being included among those true followers of Jesus!

Such a concept of selective salvation on the basis of sex, evidently, is fundamentally alien to the Jewish-Christian teachings.[1] Omission of women and use of the word μοναχός therefore combine to suggest that Logion 16 probably had not stood in the earlier versions of the logia-collection which circulated under the name of Thomas. Only later was Logion 16 apparently introduced, presumably by the Coptic editor, who had taken it over from a lost source, into the body of the text of the Gospel of Thomas.

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[1] Till, op. cit., p. 452, n. 2; cf. Wilson, p. 33.

[2] Grant, "Notes, etc.," p. 179. The expression "single one," however, should be avoided because Thomas has a special phrase for it, namely, ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ (Log. 4, 22, 23), which is properly translated "a single one," as in the "official" edition. As previously discussed in Chap. VI, this expression, "single one," has as its background a definitely Jewish-Christian image of salvation in terms of the return to the original state of the first man, Adam. By con-

The second of the three logia in which the term "solitary" occurs is Logion 49. It reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Blessed are the solitary and elect, for you shall find the kingdom; because you come from it, (and) you shall go there again.
>
> Logion 49 (89.27-30)

This logion is one of the ten "Beatitudes" that are found scattered in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas.[2] The last two clauses show a distant echo of Paul's words: "For from him and through him and to him are all things" (Romans 11:36), but there is no canonical pas-

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trast, the word μοναχός has no such connections at all. Even though the literal meaning of these two expressions generally may be almost identical, their backgrounds are entirely different.

[1] That the degradation of women's value in the picture of salvation is rather exceptional, even in the Coptic Thomas itself, is evident from a few logia in which favorable references are made to women: e.g., Log. 21 (Mary is asking Jesus an important question), and Log. 96 and 97 ("the kingdom of the Father" is compared to a woman). Grant and Freedman, commenting on Log. 98, where the kingdom is compared to "a man," stated that "it is better to compare the kingdom of the Father with a man (as here) than with a woman (as in the two sayings preceding this one)" (Grant-Freedman, p. 188). However, this comment is unnecessary and meaningless.

[2] The four "Beatitudes" in Log. 54, 68, 69a, and 69b are loosely paralleled in the canonical Gospels. The remaining six in Log. 7, 18, 19, 49, 58, and 103 are entirely new, i.e. not found in the canonical or apocryphal Gospels, or in the patristic writings.

sage which exactly corresponds to this logion.

It is significant to note that the word "solitary" is used here perplexingly as a synonym for the "elect" (ⲤⲞⲦⲠ).[1] The latter term occurs only once elsewhere in the Coptic Thomas, namely, in Logion 50b, which reads: "Jesus said: . . . If they say to you: '(Who) are you?', say: 'We are His sons and we are the elect (ⲤⲰⲦⲠ) of the Living Father" (90.1-4).

According to Gärtner, the "elect" is "very common among the Manichaeans, where it stands for Mani himself and his disciples."[2] However, the Coptic word for "elect" is an equivalent for the Hebrew word בָּחִיר or the Greek ἐκλεκτός. Usually translated "elect" or "chosen" in the canonical Old and New Testaments, these Biblical words are used to signify "God's elect," "God's chosen people," or other expressions of a similar nature.[3] Because of such wide usage in the canonical Bible, it seems unnecessary to look for the meaning of the term "elect" in the way in which it later on came to be employed in Manichaean writings.

What is it, then, that makes Logion 49 so unusual as to deserve separate treatment (as is now being undertaken) in a study of the Coptic Thomas? Such a question is quite reasonable, since it is obvious that the logion would not have caused any problem, had it not used the word "solitary" interchangeably with the "elect."

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[1] For detailed lexical notes on this Coptic word, see Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, p. 365.

[2] Gärtner, p. 228.

[3] Cf. I Chron. 16:13; Ps. 89:3; 105:6, 43; 106:5, 23; Isa. 42:1; 43:20; 45:4; 65:9, 15, 22; Matt. 20:16 (according to the following manuscripts: C 𝔎 D W Θ λ φ it vg sy$^{c\ s\ pe}$); 22:14; 24:22, 24, 31; Mark 13:20, 22, 27; Luke 18:7; 23:35; Rom. 8:33; 16:13; Col. 3:12; I Tim. 5:21; II Tim. 2:10; Tit. 1:1; I Pet. 1:2; 2:4, 6, 9; II John 1, 13; Rev. 17:14.

In answer to this question, it may be pointed out that the word "solitary," as it is employed in the Coptic Thomas, evidently applies only to men, to the exclusion of women. The reason for this observation has already been supplied by Logion 16, as interpreted previously. The mere occurrence of the word "solitary" in any of Thomas' logia thus promptly arouses the investigator's attention. When it is used in juxtaposition to the word "elect," as is the case with the present Coptic Logion 49, there seems good reason for an even stronger suspicion as to the environment of the logion in question. This is because the word "solitary," in the limited sense of salvation of men alone, and the term "elect," in the usual Biblical usage, are irreconcilable with one another.

These considerations materially add to the view that Logion 49, at least in its present form, probably did not belong to earlier versions of the Gospel of Thomas, i.e., to those that may have preceded the Coptic edition of it. The statement by Gärtner, that "Logion 49 . . . comes almost as a Gnostic creed,"[1] is entirely too strong an assertion. Although reasoning from a different point of view from that pursued by the present writer, Gärtner nevertheless points to the general direction in which the logion should be interpreted. Strategic here is the observation that Logion 49 contains elements that are incompatible among themselves, notably the use of "solitary" and "elect" in the same context. This compels the investigator to conclude that this logion probably had been preserved, if not produced, in a less orthodox circle of the Egyptian Christians. Only later did it become incorporated into the body of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. It of course is possible, although less likely, that these disparate readings were the product of the Coptic editor's work.

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[1] Gärtner, p. 198. He treats Log. 49 under the heading: "The Heavenly Origin of the Soul of Man" (ibid., pp. 197-200). Whether the logion is concerned about the "soul" of man, in distinction from "man" as a unity, is a matter of serious discussion. It seems more likely that this logion offers little room for an anthropology of Gnostic-dualistic type, as Gärtner apparently tries to develop.

The last of the three logia containing the word "solitary" is Logion 75. According to the "official" translation, it reads as follows:

> Jesus said: Many are standing at the door, but the solitary are the ones who will enter the bridal chamber.
>
> Logion 75 (94.11-13)

This logion requires only a brief comment. It immediately recalls the well-known Matthaean parable of the Ten Maidens (Matthew 25: 1-13), particularly the passage that runs: "And while they went to buy, the bridegroom came, and those who were ready went in with him to the marriage feast; and the door was shut" (verse 10).

As in the previous logia belonging to the present group (i.e. Logia 16 and 49), it is again the unusual way of using the word "solitary" in this logion that makes all the difference. In Matthew, "those who were ready" and "went in" with the bridegroom were the five wise maidens; in Thomas' Logion 75, by contrast, no woman would be allowed to "enter the bridal chamber [of course used in the metaphorical sense]," no matter how well she may be prepared for that! This observation is imposed upon the investigator by the peculiar way in which the Coptic Thomas evidently uses the word "solitary," as has been expounded in the foregoing pages.

Because of its incongruity with most other logia in the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, Logion 75, like the two previous ones, should be treated separately.

About the matter of source from which these three logia may possibly have been derived, it is not possible to be specific at the present state of knowledge. Yet, it seems fairly certain that these logia have a history of their own. In all likelihood, these three logia, as well as Logion 114 that has been discussed earlier, grew out of a tradition preserved among the less orthodox Egyptian Christians, presumably outside the Gospel of Thomas. These four logia, then, seem to constitute a class by itself, and have been dealt with in the last pages of this chapter accordingly.

* * *

What has been discussed in the foregoing pages is now to be brought to a conclusion. First of all, as presented in the first half of the present chapter, the Coptic Gospel of Thomas basically shows its strong ties with the early Jewish-Christian traditions. The fairly popular notion that the Jewish elements in the Coptic Thomas, if any, are used "in an anti-Jewish way,"[1] must be rejected as wholly unwarranted. If those elements do not receive particularly enthusiastic support in this Gospel, they at least are not harshly repudiated, any more than Jesus or Paul sometimes directed their criticisms against certain aspects of contemporary Judaism. The canonical New Testament, it may well be remembered, never denounces Judaism _in toto_. Neither does the Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_. A passionate advocate of Judaism and its legal observances the Gospel would not claim to be. Yet, the discussion in this chapter, as well as in the preceding two chapters, has revealed that it does not exhibit any particular antagonism or bitterness against those elements that are fundamentally Jewish.

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[1] Wilson, pp. 131-32; Grant-Freedman, pp. 77ff.

Also evident from the foregoing discussions is the existence of early Jewish-Christian characteristics in many of _Thomas_' logia. Some scholars have even gone so far as to trace in some cases, such as Logia 52 and 102, a primitive Palestinian tradition. Whether the adjective "Palestinian" is a relevant term here is open to question. Nevertheless, this recognition of primitive elements in _Thomas_ makes it highly arbitrary to speak of the _Gospel of Thomas_ merely, or even primarily, as a "Gnostic" composition.

A considerable number of logia in _Thomas_, part of which has been brought under surveillance here, in fact demand more careful treatment than they usually have received, so that their claim to the connection with early Jewish-Christian traditions will not be dismissed without the proper investigation which they deserve.[1]

Close examination of those logia that have been dealt with in the first half of this chapter, as well as in the previous ones, leads the present writer to the belief that it is possible to recognize in the Coptic Thomas elements of genuine early traditions, probably of Jewish-Christian origin, comparable to those traditions contained in the canonical Gospels. The door thus seems to be left open for further inquiry into the possible existence of other authentic words of Jesus in this Coptic document, though such a study falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

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[1] Cf., e.g., Log. 51: "His disciples said to Him: When will the repose of the dead come about and when will the new world come? He said to them: What you expect has come, but you know it not" (90.7-12). If this logion were found in the canonical New Testament, it would serve as one of the most valuable sayings of Jesus regarding what C. H. Dodd calls "realized eschatology"--an evidence of a good early Christian tradition.

Some scholars have shown their interest in dealing with the Coptic Thomas primarily as a source book for studying those peculiar thought-systems of the second and the third centuries that have been collectively known as "Gnosticism." The present writer, however, is convinced that the same document, i.e. the Coptic Gospel of Thomas, is also (or even more) capable of furnishing a wealth of materials, which will richly benefit the students of Jewish-Christianity. This is true especially as it was adhered to in a particular geographical locale outside Palestine, namely, Edessa and its adjacent regions.

The second half of the discussions in the present chapter dealt with those Coptic logia which appear to be alien in character to the general thoughts of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas. However, no decision seems possible at this moment on the matter of their source or sources. The three logia, where the unusual word "solitary" occurs, do not seem to offer any indication as to where they originated. The "Salome" logion (61) and one of the two "Mary" passages (114) may have been taken from the apocryphal Gospel of in the first half of this chapter, as well as in the previous ones, leads the present writer to the belief that it is possible to recognize in the Coptic Thomas elements of genuine early traditions, probably of Jewish-Christian origin, comparable to those traditions contained in the canonical Gospels. The door thus seems to be left open for further inquiry into the possible existence of other authentic words of Jesus in this Coptic document, though such a study falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

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The international team of scholars entrusted with the "official" edition of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*, evidently, is of the opinion that such sources that presumably stood behind *Thomas* include, besides the canonical New Testament, the *Gospels of the Egyptians* and *of the Hebrews*.[1] However, one must be extremely cautious as he attempts to decide on this matter one way or the other. Perhaps Fitzmyer's warning against any hasty conclusions still holds relevant, when he wrote as follows:

> Should not the similar positions taken by scholars in the past about the relation of the Oxyrhynchus fragments to these Gospels [i.e. *Gospels of the Egyptians* and *of the Hebrews*] teach us to be more cautious? After all, what we know of these two Gospels is nothing more than a series of quotations preserved in various patristic writers. To postulate such a collection as the source of the complete Gospel which we now have is to go beyond the evidence. It may be that the *Gospel according to Thomas* is the source of the quotations found in these Gospels, or again maybe all three depend on a common source.[2]

All that one can say from what has been discussed in the latter part of this chapter is that those logia that were brought into consideration do not appear to be compatible with the majority of *Thomas*' logia. Allowance should of course be made for the possibility that there may be a few more (but perhaps not very many more) logia which might prove to be in the same class with the aforementioned logia. Without committing them to any particular source or sources, one may now conclude at least that those logia discussed in the second half of the present chapter probably did not belong to any of the earlier versions of the Gospel of Thomas, i.e. the "Ur-Thomas" or the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas." Presumably the five logia here investigated became incorporated as part of its latest recension within the scope of the present study, namely, the "Coptic Thomas."

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[1] Three of the five members of this team have more or less clearly expressed their opinions to that effect; cf. Till, *op. cit.*, p. 451; Puech, "Une collection de paroles de Jésus récemment retrouvée: L'Evangile selon Thomas," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, 1957), p. 160; Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," p. 194. Of the remaining two, A. Guillaumont and Yassah ʿAbd al Masīḥ, nothing can be said.

[2] Fitzmyer, p. 552, n. 46.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

The main subject of the discussions in the preceding chapters has been concerned with the process of literary growth which the Gospel of Thomas presumably has undergone in the course of its development. This growth stage covered the length of time between that Gospel's initial composition and the writing of the manuscript of the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas, recently discovered near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt. The period in point apparently extended over approximately two and a half centuries.

It is generally agreed that the Gospel of Thomas, in its original form, was brought into existence at Edessa in Syria at approximately A.D. 140. From that city, this document appears to have embarked upon a 250-year journey. This led to an intermediate locale in Alexandria, and eventually came to its termination in the region of Nag Hammadi. There it was finally re-edited and translated into Coptic at approximately A.D. 400.

As this Gospel of Thomas passed through various lands and was subjected to the literary practices of different peoples, each with a variety of ideas and thought-forms, it inevitably underwent a certain degree of modification and transformation. That literary pilgrimage is what has been referred to in this dissertation as the "literary development" of the particular document in question.

As a byproduct, somewhat aside from their main contribution, the foregoing discussions also have succeeded in throwing new light on some of the issues that had not sufficiently been investigated in previous studies. One such problem has to do with the nature of the people who were directly responsible for producing the first edition of the Gospel of Thomas. While it is generally believed that this logia-collection probably was first written in Greek rather than in Syriac, the philological investigations pursued by some scholars have shown that the present Coptic Thomas contains far more of a Semitic foundation base than had even previously been assumed.[1] This primal element in the Gospel is found in its fundamental Hebrew and Aramaic thought-forms. This is a significant supplementary discovery because it indicates further the nature of the milieu out of which the document under discussion was originally born.

Admittedly, this may not provide any absolute criterion by which to judge how close each of Thomas' logia stands to Jesus himself, who spoke in Aramaic. Yet, this strong Semitic element in the Gospel at least suggests that the people who were associated with the earliest edition of the Gospel of Thomas were linguistically not far removed from the world in which Jesus and his immediate followers had lived. The inference here, then, is that those who made up the community of believers who produced what the present writer calls the "Ur-Thomas" were Jewish-Christians dwelling in Edessa. As demonstrated in the preceding pages of this dissertation, many of Thomas' logia bear the mark of their Jewish-Christian backgrounds. These, accordingly, may be taken as the best illustrations of the original environment in which the "Ur-Thomas" was initially composed.

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[1] Particularly significant in this respect are the works by Quispel and Guillaumont: Quispel, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," New Testament Studies, V (1959), pp. 276ff.; Guillaumont, "Sémitismes dans les logia de Jésus retrouvés a Nag-Hamadi," Journal Asiatique, CCXLVI (1958), pp. 113ff.

On the basis of what has been discussed in this dissertation, the following observations are here presented as the conclusion of the present study pursued in the preceding pages. The course of the literary development of the Gospel of Thomas, in all likelihood, seems to have evolved by the following steps.

1. During the first half of the second century, there were current among the Jewish-Christians in Edessa a number of "floating" sayings ascribed to Jesus. Some of these may have been genuine words of Jesus, but others were merely attributed to him by tradition. Presumably failing to distinguish between these two types, all such extant sayings became cherished with reverence by members of the Jewish-Christian community in that great city of northeastern Syria.

In the course of time, about one hundred of those "floating" sayings of Jesus were gathered together to form a book. The language of this earliest collection may well have been Greek. As a logia-collection, this volume quickly won wide acceptance among lay readers as well as the authors of the early Christian literature. Possibly produced anonymously, the first edition of this logia-collection provided a considerable number of early Christian authors, including Tatian, with a wealth of materials to be incorporated into their works. As such, this collection is comparable, both in style and value, to the Jewish collection of Rabbinical sayings known as the Pirqe Aboth in the Mishnah, to the collection of Old Testament messianic prophecies commonly designated as the "Testimonia," or to the hypothetical "Q" source which is largely a collection of Jesus' sayings presumably utilized by the authors of the canonical Gospels, Matthew and Luke.

Evidently, it was a common practice among the early Christian men of letters first to produce such a collection of sayings of Jesus before it was felt needful to write a narrative story of his life.[1] This was largely because the latter could more easily be remembered, while the former tended to be forgotten much sooner in an oral context.

At any rate, it was at this stage of the development of the logia-collection in point that the authors or editors of the works referred to by Quispel drew upon this new-born document. These writings which appear to have utilized the newly authored logia-collection were the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, the Diatessaron, and perhaps even various branches of the so-called "Western Text."

This evidence from quotation offers a date for composition of this logia-collection, at least the terminus ad quem for such, i.e., the latest date at which it could have been produced. The writing by Tatian is of strategic significance here. The date of this logia-collection was therefore probably earlier than Tatian's Diatessaron which is usually dated between A.D. 150 and 170, and may go back well into the second quarter of the second century.

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[1] Cf. Cullmann, in Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXXV (May, 1960), col. 330, wrote: "Es ist übrigens sehr natürlich, dass zuerst Worte Jesu vor der Erzählung seines Lebens wiedergegeben wurden."

Because of the special local tradition in Edessa concerning the apostle Thomas, this logia-collection soon became associated with that highly venerated apostle and began to circulate under his name and authority. At the same time, the local "Thomas" tradition at Edessa exercised its influence on the form of the apostle's name. As a result, the name "Judas Thomas," which was specially favored in Edessa, became attached to this logia-collection as its alleged author's name. This is attested by one of the Oxyrhynchus Fragments, P. Oxy. 654.

It is also assumed that the "Prologue" to the Gospel of Thomas was added to the body of the collection at this stage,[1] in a form almost identical to the way it now stands in the Coptic Thomas except for the name of its presumed author.

The term "Ur-Thomas" applies to the collection of Jesus' sayings specifically as it stood at this stage in the literary development of the Gospel of Thomas.

2. A copy of this "Ur-Thomas" presumably soon found its way from Edessa to Alexandria in Egypt. There it found itself among two types of Christians. One group of Christians had no difficulty in accepting the collection as it reached them. They

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[1] Against Cullmann, who thinks that the Prologue is an addition by the "last Gnostic redactor" (loc. cit., col. 327): "Die Einleitung, mit der das Werk dem Apostel Thomas zugeschrieben wird, stammt sicher von diesem gnostischen Redaktor."

started copying the document exactly as it was, including the Syrian name of the apostle, "Judas Thomas." One of these faithful copies has survived down to the present-day in the form of P. Oxy. 654, where this original Syrian double name is retained.

The other group, however, consisted of those Egyptian Christians who had been exposed more radically, than those of the first group, to outside influences and various thought-currents. Consequently, they did not hesitate to make any change they pleased in the collection.

Presumably, these latter Christians knew there was another tradition from the west (from Ephesus, to be specific), which combined the name of the apostle "Thomas" with "Didymos," as in the canonical Fourth Gospel. So these Alexandrian people simply combined both "eastern" and "western" traditions, putting them together to create an extraordinary triple name, "Didymos Judas Thomas." This is the form preserved in the present Coptic Gospel of Thomas, and also in the first chapter of the Greek version of the Acts of Thomas. The Nag Hammadi Gospel of Thomas thus appears to have been based on a Greek copy produced by those Egyptian Christians of the second type.

Furthermore, these people of the second group were particularly keen about their own local tradition. According to this tradition the three favored disciples of Jesus were Philip, Thomas and Matthew. These were regarded in Alexandria as the specially commissioned guardians of the risen Christ's revelation. This preference is observed especially in the Pistis Sophia.

Thus, during the period of two hundred years or more, the

Gospel of Thomas was copied and circulated among the Egyptian Christians in two different versions: one being closer to the Edessene original than the other. Because the essential identity of the Gospel of Thomas still was retained as the heart of both versions, the term "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" applies to both types of the Greek version of the Gospel of Thomas produced and circulated in Egypt.

3. At approximately A.D. 400, one of the copies of the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas," probably produced by the second group referred to above, fell into the hands of a person who was bilingual. Seeing the need of translating the logia-collection into the vernacular of his time, i.e. the Sahidic dialect of the Coptic language, he undertook the task of producing a Coptic version of the Gospel of Thomas.

However, he was no mere translator. Like the Alexandrian Christians of the second type mentioned above, he had his own ideas with regard to the form and contents of the document at his disposal. He was living in fourth-century Egypt, possibly far from Alexandria, which was the port of entry for the "Ur-Thomas." Moreover, he had access to materials that had not been available to his predecessors. Consequently, he took the liberty of editing, in addition to translating, the collection in such a way as to make it more adequate and acceptable in his view.

Having seen no reason why he should be so much concerned about the "Thomas" traditions as his Syrian or Alexandrian predecessors were, this Coptic editor-translator went so far as to put the more formal title to this document in the form of a colophon attached at the end of the volume. The logia-collection thus came to assume its shortened "official" title: "The Gospel according to Thomas" (ⲠⲈⲨⲀⲄⲄⲈⲖⲒⲞⲚ ⲠⲔⲀⲦⲀ ⲐⲰⲘⲀⲤ). In this way the *Gospel of Thomas* was brought into being in its present Coptic form.

Like the "Oxyrhynchus Thomas," the *Gospel of Thomas* in Coptic apparently was recopied extensively to the point where a number of copies became extant at that time. In this process, a certain degree of change was inevitable, partly because of innocent scribal errors and partly because of the changing theological climate prevailing within the circles that transcribed and used the logia-collection. Even though the present Nag Hammadi *Gospel of Thomas* is the only extant copy of that document in Coptic at present, it seems logical to employ a term that has a wider connotation, so that any other copies of the *Gospel of Thomas* in Coptic, whenever they are brought to light, may reasonably be accommodated under the same category. For this reason, the term "Coptic Thomas" has been used in this dissertation.

In fact, as one such conceivable Coptic version of *Thomas*, aside from the present Nag Hammadi *Gospel of Thomas*, one may reasonably speak of a "Manichaean" *Gospel of Thomas*. When the Manichaeans came across this Gospel, they too made various modifications and re-editings, according to their own ideas and purposes. It was probably to this "Manichaean Thomas" that Cyril of Jerusalem referred as coming from the Manichaean circle. However, because of the paucity of materials, it does not seem possible at this moment to deal with this version as a separate stage in the literary development of the *Gospel of Thomas* in any greater detail.

Such is the reconstruction of the probable course of the literary development of the _Gospel of Thomas_ on the basis of what has been discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation. Admittedly, not all the logia in _Thomas_ were brought under surveillance in this study, and not all the related subjects were exhausted. Much of what has been said in this work inevitably must remain largely hypothetical until such time as more evidence becomes available.

Even so, the present writer believes that what has been presented in the foregoing pages contributes toward the advancement of scholarly knowledge about the _Gospel of Thomas_, inasmuch as no one has previously offered any overall picture of the literary development of the _Gospel of Thomas_ as such.

Finally, it is the present writer's belief that the present Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_ should be considered not as a piece of Gnostic propaganda literature but as a Christian apocryphon. Clearly, it cannot claim the place of "Fifth Gospel," along with the four canonical Gospels, as was voiced in more or less journalistic manner for a short while after its discovery. Yet its value as a Christian apocryphon ought not to be underestimated. Its language, its mode of expression, even its thought-forms, may at times differ from those that are familiar from the canonical Gospels. This, however, does not lessen the real significance of this unique document. In fact, its value lies precisely where it does _not_ agree with its canonical counterparts. The Coptic _Gospel of Thomas_ thus demands proper treatment as a significant landmark in the course of early Christian development. The new Gospel, indeed, deserves a proper place in the total history of early Christian literature.

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THE LITERARY DEVELOPMENT OF THE COPTIC GOSPEL OF THOMAS

An Abstract

by

TAI AKAGI

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Religion
WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY
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The Coptic Gospel of Thomas, unearthed in 1945 near Nag Hammadi in Upper Egypt, consists of 114 sayings attributed to Jesus. Chief among many problems posed by this new Gospel is the question of its literary development.

After recounting the discovery of the entire Nag Hammadi collection (Chapter I), attention is given to Thomas as a collection of Jesus' logia. While the new Gospel is not to be identified with Papias' "logia" or the hypothetical "Q," its discovery verifies the long-assumed existence in the early Church of this type of literary work, i.e. logia-collections (Chapter II). An attempt is made next to clarify what lay behind the strange name "Didymos Judas Thomas" in the Prologue to the Coptic Thomas. It is suggested that this name was brought into being in Alexandria as a result of combining two traditions regarding the name of Thomas: "Thomas Didymos" of the West (Ephesus) and "Judas Thomas" of the East (Edessa). Chapter IV deals with patristic and other Christian allusions to a "Gospel of Thomas." Despite the name of Thomas attached to it, the new Gospel should be distinguished from the better-known apocryphal "Gospel of Thomas," which in reality is one of the so-called "Infancy Gospels."

Preceded by a survey of various theories regarding the new Gospel (Chapter V), the probable course of Thomas' literary development is traced in Part II in terms of three major stages. The earliest is referred to by the term "Ur-Thomas." The occurrence of the Edessene name "Judas Thomas" in P. Oxy. 654, which corresponds to the opening portion of the Coptic Thomas, and the existence of early Jewish-Christian elements in many of its logia, together suggest that the Gospel of Thomas was composed during the first half of the second century by the Jewish-Christian community at Edessa in Syria (Chapter VI). The second stage, the locale for which was Egypt, is represented by three extant papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus (Nos. 1, 654 and 655). A comparative study between these fragments and the Coptic Thomas makes it evident that the latter was based on a fourth Greek version of Thomas not represented by any of those three fragments. The term "Oxyrhynchus Thomas" covers all the conceivable Greek versions of Thomas in Egypt that presumably belonged to this second stage. Thomas was well accepted, in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt to the south along the Nile, in a somewhat modified form (Chapter VII). The third stage is represented by the Nag Hammadi Thomas. As time elapsed, the Gospel made its way farther south until it fell into the hands of people whose language was no longer Greek but the Sahidic Coptic. As the Gospel was rendered into this new language, it inevitably received certain changes. Yet it never completely lost its Jewish-Christian identity. In the first half of Chapter VIII, a continued effort is made to give further evidence that Thomas was a Jewish-Christian document, not a Gnostic invention. However, as shown in the second half of that chapter, there are certain logia that do not agree with the overall Jewish-Christian nature of Thomas. Five such logia are specifically investigated, which probably did not belong to the Gospel of Thomas until they became incorporated into it by a later Coptic hand.

A Christian apocryphon, rather than a Gnostic propaganda device, the Gospel of Thomas thus deserves a proper place in the total history of early Christian literature. Any additional modifications and alterations that may subsequently have been made to it during the course of its literary growth should be considered as secondary.